The Battle for Waterloo

Governing and resisting the redevelopment of public housing

Laura Wynne

BArts/BScience, MPlan

School of Social Sciences
College of Arts Law and Education
University of Tasmania

Submitted in fulfilment of
the requirements for the
Doctor of Philosophy
May 2019

UNIVERSITY of TASMANIA

Declarations

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for a degree or diploma by the University or any other institution, except by way of background information and duly acknowledged in the thesis, and to the best of my knowledge and belief no material previously published or written by another person except where due acknowledgement is made in the text of the thesis, nor does the thesis contain any material that infringes copyright.

13 May 2019

This thesis may be made available for loan and limited copying and communication in accordance with the Copyright Act 1968.

13 May 2019

The publishers of the paper comprising Chapter 11 (included in published form as Appendix 1) hold the copyright for that content and access to the material should be sought from the journal. The remaining non published content of the thesis may be made available for loan and limited copying and communication in accordance with the Copyright Act 1968.

13 May 2019

The research associated with this thesis abides by the international and Australian codes on human and animal experimentation, the guidelines by the Australian Government's Office of the Gene Technology Regulator and the rulings of the Safety, Ethics and Institutional Biosafety Committees of the University. This project was approved by the University of Tasmania’s Human Research Ethics Committee with Project Reference no H16034.

13 May 2019

Acknowledgement of Aboriginal sovereignty

Before proceeding, I want to acknowledge the Indigenous peoples on whose land this work was undertaken.

The land on which I live and work is Dhawaral Country, home to the Wadi Wadi people. I acknowledge the sovereignty of the Wadi Wadi people over the land on which my home stands, and pay respect their elders past and present.

The Gadi people of the Eora nation are the traditional owners of the land on which Waterloo today stands. Their people were massacred by the European settlers of Australia through violence and disease, bringing an end to millennia of their sustainable custodianship of this land.

Today, Indigenous people from many nations across Australia call Waterloo home. They have suffered successive displacements and dispossessions, and continue to be subject to the violence of structural racism and exclusion. The Redfern-Waterloo area is the vibrant and diverse community that it is today because of the presence and influence of the local Aboriginal community, who have fought for many decades on that land for their rights and political inclusion.

The contributions of local Aboriginal people to fighting for the rights of people in Waterloo cannot be underestimated. Though heartache, dispossession and racism have been inflicted upon their community, they continue to strive for their rights and for a more just political system. The contributions of Aboriginal community members to the research contained in this thesis was invaluable, and I extend heartfelt gratitude to those who shared their perspectives with me.

The work of this thesis is about a contemporary dispossession, but it is not lost on me that for members of the local Aboriginal community, the Waterloo redevelopment is another in a series of dispossessions now spanning over two centuries. Throughout this thesis, I work to highlight the importance of local Aboriginal perspectives. I lament that dominant discourses and the decisions of policy makers fail to highlight—or even truly listen to—these valuable perspectives. We cannot undo the injustice and dispossessions perpetrated by our ancestors, but we can—we must—acknowledge these and work to avoid perpetuating injustice and dispossessions against our land's first people.

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to a number of people who supported me throughout this thesis.

Enormous thanks go to my supervisors. Professor Keith Jacobs, thanks for your warmth, wisdom and generosity; your ongoing support and confidence in me has really meant a lot. Dr Kathleen Flanagan, thanks for being the most thorough reader my work has ever been scrutinised by, for hilarious comments in the margins of every chapter ('hypocrisy alert!' and 'pet hate alert!' were among my favourites), for sharing your incredible knowledge of Foucault, and for your generous spirit.

This thesis would, of course, not have been possible without the generosity of the people of Waterloo, who talked with me openly, who welcomed me into meetings and events and homes, and who are fighting day in and out for justice and equality in their city. I hope to give thanks by continuing to support their struggle.

I am grateful for the friendship and support of the best PhD crew I could ever ask for: Katie Ross and Melissa Jackson. Undertaking a PhD remotely was made so much less lonely and so much more enjoyable thanks to the two of you. Thanks for your advice, your kind words, for listening and commiserating. Thanks for sharing healthy meals, for evening walks on the beach, for 3pm dance breaks and writing retreats and for laughing and laughing and laughing (and sometimes crying) with me.

Thanks to my family, and especially to my parents, who taught me from a very young age the importance of reading and learning, and who have been my cheerleaders throughout more than two decades of education.

Thanks to Alistair, Pratichi, Jenna and Dallas, who have been superb collaborators on various projects and writings related to this thesis and the case study. Thanks to my colleagues at UTS, for kind words, flexibility and advice.

But, most of all, thanks to Ryan. Two concurrent doctorates has been a lot for one marriage to hold, but I think we managed brilliantly. I'm so proud of you for completing your thesis, and so grateful for the support and advice you found time to give to me throughout. You helped me find the confidence to believe I could complete this thing, and your love and support helped me find the energy to make it happen.

Publications

Throughout the duration of the PhD I published a number of papers and articles, and gave a number of conference presentations. The majority of these were authored solely by me, however a number were written in collaboration with other scholars interested in the Waterloo case study. These various outputs are listed below.

Chapter 11 is published in a modified form as Wynne (2019a), and is attached in its original form as Appendix 1.

Journal articles

Chatterjee, P., Condie, J., Sisson, A., Wynne, L (2019) Imploding activism: challenges and possibilities of housing scholar-activism. *Radical Housing Journal*, 1(1), 189-204.

Wynne, L. (2019a). Empowerment and the individualisation of resistance: A Foucauldian perspective on Theatre of the Oppressed. *Critical Social Policy* (online first).

Other articles

Wynne, L. (2019b) We may not own these houses, but these are our homes. *Meanjin*, Autumn 2019.

Chatterjee, P., Sisson, A., Condie, J., Wynne, L (2018) We still live here: Public housing tenants fight for their place in the city. *The Conversation,* online November 19 2018.

Rogers, D., Sisson, A., Condie, J., Wynne, L., Chatterjee, P. (2017) We Live Here: how do residents feel about public housing redevelopment? *The Conversation*, 6 September 2017.

Wynne, L. (2017a) Social housing renewal: threats to tenant stability and security. *Parity*, September edition.

Wynne, L. (2016a) The Battle for Waterloo: rethinking social engineering in inner-city Sydney. *Commotion*, Spring 2016.

Wynne, L. (2016b) Let's be frank about diversity and renewal. *New Planner*, issue 108, September 2016.

Conference presentations

Wynne, L. (2018a) Housing as right, home as privilege: Social housing reform, redevelopment and the denial of 'home'. *Presentation to the*

IAG/NZGS Conference, Auckland, 9-13 July 2018.

Wynne, L. (2018b) Managing the 'opportunity group': NSW social housing policy and technologies of the self. *Presentation to the Problematic Populations Symposium*, Hobart, 14-15 June 2018.

Wynne, L. (2018c) Technologies of Performance: Using governmentality to understand social housing reform in NSW. *Presentation to the Housing Theory Symposium*, Wollongong, 5-6 February 2018.

Wynne, L. (2017b) We Live Here: Creative Resistance to Urban Renewal in a Sydney Public Housing Estate. *Presentation to the Institute of Australian Geographers Conference*, Brisbane, 11-13 July 2017.

Wynne, L., (2017c) Trying to stay local in Sydney's 'global arc': social housing tenant perspectives. *Proceedings of the State of Australian Cities Conference 2017*, Adelaide, 28-30 November 2017.

Contents

Tables and figures

Acronyms

FACS	Department of Family and Community Services
IPART	Independent Pricing and Regulatory Tribunal
LAHC	Land and Housing Corporation
NSW	New South Wales
RedWatch	Redfern Eveleigh Darlington Waterloo Watch
WPHAG	Waterloo Public Housing Action Group

Key organisations

City of Sydney	City of Sydney is the local government that includes Waterloo. The city would in usual circumstances be the planning authority responsible for managing and approving development in Waterloo
Counterpoint Community Services	A community development organisation run from the Factory Community Centre in Waterloo. Coordinates key community development activities in Waterloo, has been funded by NSW Government to deliver key housing-related development services until funding ended in late 2018
Inner Sydney Voice	A peak body for community and social service organisations in the south Sydney area
Land and Housing Corporation	The landowner of the Waterloo estate. Established through the Housing Act (2001), the Land and Housing Corporation is a Public Trading Enterprise.
NSW Department of Family and Community Services	The government department with responsibility for social housing in the state, manages the tenancies of households in public and social housing
Redfern Legal Centre	Provides legal services for poor and marginalised people in South Sydney, and has been doing so since 1977
RedWatch	Resident action group for Redfern/ Eveleigh/ Darlington/ Waterloo formed in 2003 in response to the planned redevelopment of the area through the Redfern Waterloo Authority
Urban Growth Development Corporation	The NSW Government's urban development agency, responsible for both greenfield land releases and redevelopment projects
Waterloo Neighbourhood Advisory Board	A committee comprised of representatives from Waterloo's 11 public housing precincts, representing tenants to the NSW Department of Family and Community Services and to the Land and Housing Corporation. Coordinated by Counterpoint Community Services
Waterloo Public Housing Action Group	Tenant group formed in 2016 in response to the announcement of the redevelopment of Waterloo
WeLiveHere	Project comprising a public art installation (light display) in the Waterloo towers, and a documentary film about the redevelopment

Abstract

Decades of state disinvestment in public housing, and its subsequent decline and residualisation, have resulted in it becoming a 'tenure of last resort' in Australia, with estates often characterised by large concentrations of disadvantaged households. In recent years, many governments have adopted the rhetoric of 'social mix' to rationalise the redevelopment of public housing estates.

Since the 1970s, Waterloo, a neighbourhood in inner-city Sydney, has been home to over 2,000 low-income households living in a high-rise public housing estate. In 2015, the New South Wales State Government announced that the existing social housing was to be demolished and replaced with a privately-developed 'mixed community'. In response, many residents took steps to resist the redevelopment of their neighbourhood.

In this thesis, I explore resistance to the redevelopment of Waterloo. Deploying Foucauldian conceptions of power, government and resistance, I draw on approaches from studies of governmentality and use Foucault's notion of 'counter-conduct'. Resistance has rarely formed a major focus of Foucauldian governmentality works—nor of works focused on public housing redevelopment—and in this thesis I demonstrate the utility of Foucauldian-inspired approaches for understanding neoliberal governmentalities. I use ethnographic data collected through observation of the tenant-led groups attempting to resist the redevelopment between 2016 and 2018, interviews with tenants, and a critical analysis of key government texts.

Elaborating an 'analytics of government' and viewing government as a productive—rather than repressive—activity, I explore the conditions through which it is possible to govern Waterloo. I then turn the same analytical lens upon resistance, approaching it as a productive activity to understand what might eventuate when resistance to neoliberal housing policy occurs. My use of Foucault's notion of 'counter-conduct' illuminates resistance as a practice that both reifies and refutes dominant governmentalities, and demonstrates the challenges that arise in resisting a mode of government that 'conducts the conduct' of subjects and that governs through their agency. Through viewing the NSW Government's tenant engagement and capacity building program as a 'technology of citizenship', I bring to light how these are not neutral programs for soliciting tenant input into the redevelopment but rather serve to co-opt dissent and redirect tenant resistance towards governmental objectives. The Foucauldian lens also makes possible an exploration of the ways in which individualising tendencies of neoliberalism

pervade spaces of resistance, and allows dominant structures to be reproduced even within activist spaces.

In adopting this approach, the thesis advances an analytics for resistance that provides critical analysis of the government of public housing and illuminates the challenges experienced by those who oppose neoliberal modes of governing housing. I find that, although the resistance efforts failed to achieve their highest-order objectives, it is not 'useless to revolt', for resistance opens opportunities for subjects to refuse to be conducted in particular ways and to imagine how things might be otherwise.

Merry Christmas 2015

Often our opinion
of others is revealed
through our inattention
to small details
like the Home Brand
bread and sausages

the Hon Brad Hazzard, MP,
thought suitable
to provide for tenants
of public housing
at a barbecue

held to announce
the destruction
of their loved homes,
their lively community,
to be replaced,

he announced …
with a better-quality
environment
frequented, no doubt
by a better-quality
human being
who buys Select Brand.

– Poet's name withheld.
Published in the *South Sydney Herald* online,
26 December 2015.[1]

[1] Available at: http://www.southsydneyherald.com.au/disrespect-of-vital-community/#.VqLlapN96Rv.

Chapter 1. Introduction

A week before Christmas 2015, the residents of the Waterloo public housing estate received a letter that began with the phrase 'I am excited'. The letter, signed by the New South Wales (NSW) Minister for Social Housing, Brad Hazzard, announced to residents that their estate would be the latest to be subject to a program of redevelopment. The letter promised that the redevelopment would deliver a 'dynamic new community' and 'fantastic new rapid transport'. Two days later, the Minister held a barbecue. Staff from the NSW Government's Department of Family and Community Services, the State Government agency responsible for public housing,[2] wore t-shirts and held balloons that read 'I (heart) Waterloo'. At the barbecue, at which Departmental staff served residents cheap, home-brand sausages and white bread, few answers were forthcoming about the future of the Waterloo neighbourhood.

Waterloo, in inner-city Sydney, is home to one of the few remaining inner-city public housing estates in the state of New South Wales. The neighbourhood is well-located, close to universities and public transport, and just two kilometres from the Central Business District. The public housing estate is home to between 4,500-6,000 residents,[3] who comprise an extraordinarily diverse community of mostly disadvantaged and low-income tenants. Some current residents have lived in Waterloo since the estate's modernist towers were first opened by Queen Elizabeth in 1977.

In recent decades, it had become hard to imagine Waterloo as a space over which a Queen might preside. Years of systematic disinvestment, infrastructure decline, poor maintenance, high crime and persistent

[2] In Australia, there are three levels of government: federal (national), state and local. State government has traditionally been given responsibility for housing issues (though Federal government has some involvement through tax policies and direct funding for subsidised housing) and local government has responsibility for urban planning issues. Waterloo is located within the state of New South Wales and within the local government area of the City of Sydney. Throughout the duration of this research project, the State Government was held by a conservative party, the Liberals, while a coalition of progressives held the majority at the City of Sydney.

[3] The figure varies depending on whether NSW Housing, Census or unofficial estimates are used.

poverty contributed to a terrible stigma that plagued the neighbourhood. The 16- and 30-storey towers of Waterloo became known to Sydneysiders, over these years, by a dreadful moniker: 'the suicide towers'. But hard-fought campaigns by tenants gave rise to a number of improvements in the last decade: a security and concierge service secures the high-rise towers, funding for public domain improvements keeps the parks and gardens maintained, and improved infrastructure keeps the laundries and stairwells safe for residents.

Thanks to these improvements, by 2015 the estate—though not without its problems—had for the most part returned to its former status as a reasonably safe and comfortable place for low-income households to live.

The announcement of the redevelopment of the estate threatened to upend the stability and security that Waterloo's residents enjoyed.

The announcement was initially scant on detail, but over the months that followed, residents slowly formed a clearer picture of the project to which their community was being subjected. All existing housing on the estate—just over 2,000 dwellings—was to be demolished, and residents would be relocated to public housing elsewhere in the city. The flattened estate would then be sold to developers, who would build private housing on the estate, as well as some social and affordable dwellings comprising around 30% of the total housing on site. Tenants, the NSW Government promised, would be given a right to return to the redeveloped estate upon its completion in 15-20 years' time.

In the immediate aftermath of the announcement, the tenants of Waterloo expressed shock, disgust, disappointment and grief about the redevelopment. Even those who supported the broader aims of the project objected to the way the redevelopment was announced and how it was being handled by the Department. A group of tenants began mobilising to resist the redevelopment and to advocate for tenants' rights to remain in their homes and in their neighbourhood.

In this thesis, I follow the experiences of those tenants working to resist the redevelopment. I undertook extensive ethnographic research to understand the experiences of those working to resist the redevelopment. I spent hundreds of hours with the residents between 2016 and 2018, observing them and also working with them to both understand the redevelopment project and to oppose it.

In this thesis, I aim to use a governmentalities approach to unpick both the government of and resistance to the redevelopment of Waterloo, to show how these forces are mutually constitutive, at times reifying at the same time as undermining the other. I explore how it is

that the redevelopment of Waterloo is governed and resisted in specific ways, with attention paid to the specific type of power in play in this context—governmental power, or a power that conducts the conduct of subjects. Resistance, then, emerges as counter-conduct, and building on the works of others in this space I aim to show that counter-conduct is a concept of considerable utility in understanding resistance to neoliberal governmental power.

1.1 Neoliberal governmentality

Throughout this thesis, I understand the redevelopment project as a product of and entangled within a neoliberal mode of governing. As I will explain in detail in Chapter Two, I use a Foucauldian understanding of neoliberalism as 'governmentality' throughout this thesis. Foucault's notion of 'governmentality' involves viewing (neo)liberalism as an 'art of government'—a way of conceptualising the practice of government (Foucault, 1991a).

Neoliberalism is a term deployed in such a dizzying variety of ways across the social sciences that it 'has attained the status of a buzzword' (Peck, 2004, p. 393). Neoliberalism is often used to describe a specific set of practices—privatisation, marketisation, the cutting of welfare and social spending, etc—witnessed in government since the 1980s. It has become a kind of shorthand to refer to a wide and varied set of policies and practices present in late capitalism (Peck, 2004; Larner, 2000).

Though earlier accounts associated neoliberalism with the 'end of the nation state', critical approaches have more recently understood it as a transformation of the nation state (Peck, 2004; Dodson, 2006). But in the literature, as noted by Peck (2004) and Larner (2000), neoliberalism is also often afforded the status of a 'force', as though neoliberalism *itself* could have agency and as though it could never be separated from the discursive practices that bring it into being. Understandings of neoliberalism as some already-existing entity bring it into view as a policy package—a 'coherent program of things to be done' (Larner, 2000, p. 8); or as an ideology, that is some form of coherent quasi-belief system that sets out specific policy goals; or as an economic model for free markets that puts the state in adversarial relation with the market (Wacquant, 2012). Again, these approaches tend to assume the pre-existence of neoliberalism and its subsequent application, rather than looking for the ways in which neoliberalism is *discursively produced* in varied contexts.

A governmentality approach guided me to view neoliberalism not as a policy package or an ideology (Larner, 2000), but *as a way of making governing in certain ways thinkable and doable*. Foucault

understood neoliberalism as an art of government that was productive, rather than repressive—which produced subjects and their freedom, and which governs *through* the agency of subjects, rather than against it (Foucault, 2004a).

Neoliberalism is concerned with 'applying economy' (Foucault, 2002b, p. 207) to the art of government—the market becomes a sort of permanent tribunal for evaluating government (Foucault, 2004a). We see this in evidence in the neoliberalisation of the city, where accumulation becomes the driving motivation and privatisation the means. The dispossession of low-income residents emerges not just as an unintended side-effect of this project but as both *means and ends* for achieving the neoliberalisation of the city.

This thesis explores how resistance to a neoliberal program might be practiced. Neoliberal governmental power is diffuse, dispersed. There is no king or sovereign towards which we might direct resistance. Government is fragmented, with responsibilities fracturing across departments, portfolios, agencies, corporations and then further devolved to non-government and private organisations tasked with delivering government programs. Neoliberal rationalities—the 'broad discourses of rule' through which the practice of government is articulated and formulated (O'Malley, Weir, & Shearing, 1997, p. 501)—diffuse throughout social relations and embed themselves into our way of thinking and understanding the world, into our discourse, and our very understanding of ourselves. Neoliberal power works to make certain things visible such that particular responses seem natural or inevitable; it draws upon, creates and reifies certain forms of knowledge that produce particular ways of thinking and being; produces and uses technologies of power; and it constitutes and modifies our very subjectivities—that is, the ways in which human beings are rendered citizens through relations of power. Resisting this power, then, is made complicated by the very mode of power present in these contexts. With this in mind, the meta-question that my thesis is concerned with is: *How might we think about resisting neoliberalism?*

The struggle with which this thesis is concerned is the battle over the future of a public housing estate in Waterloo. Throughout this thesis I explore the struggle of residents to fight their displacement, to determine their future and to resist the gentrification and privatisation of their neighbourhood. The Waterloo area has been subject to clearance and renewal for a century—and dispossession of the Aboriginal community for multiple centuries.

1.2 The evolution of this project

Initially, I started out thinking that this project would be one about displacement. I was interested in trying to understand the impacts of displacement from an ethnographic perspective, following these residents as they underwent successive moves.

Almost immediately, I met practical challenges. The relocation of tenants was originally planned to fall within the timeframe of my PhD, with residents told they would be issued relocation notices in 2017. Over time, however, the Government has adjusted the project timeframe, such that the first tenant relocations have not even begun as I am concluding the 'writing up' phase of my PhD in early 2019. It quickly became obvious that studying the experience of displacement itself would not be conducive to completing my PhD on time.

As I was wrestling with the question of how to find a focus for this research, I was becoming aware of significant resistance efforts being coordinated by residents to protest the redevelopment of Waterloo. I was aware that Australia has not had a strong history of tenants' movements or housing struggles, in spite of ongoing housing affordability crises across major cities and a decades-long decline in public housing stock.[4] This resistance, then, appeared to present an important moment in Australia's housing politics.

Admittedly, my reaction was at first to dismiss the potential of any resistance movement. 'Why resist?', I asked myself. It was not, I thought, as though government will listen to a group of public housing tenants, not when the developers were already circling, their eyes fixed on the prime land on which the Waterloo estate sits. For the community of Waterloo, however—or, at least, those opposed to the redevelopment—resistance was imperative. This was a question of home, of connections to place, of belonging, of rights to the city, of

[4] A note on terminology: Throughout this thesis I use public and social housing somewhat interchangeably. 'Public' housing is the term that has been used to describe Australia's government-owned housing for many decades. In recent years, however, as modes of provision of subsidised housing have changed, with the growth of community housing and the use of a range of private market mechanisms for housing subsidies, the government and others have increasingly begun to use the term 'social housing'. In general, Waterloo tenants referred to themselves as 'public housing' tenants. However, policies and Government discourse now rely on the term 'social housing', as it captures the breadth of modes of subsidised housing provision. Further, residents of Waterloo will likely become 'social' or 'community' housing tenants in future, as their tenancy is transferred to community housing providers in the redeveloped estate. The shifting terminology used throughout this thesis reflects a discursive space in flux. I attempt to be consistent in applying whichever is the most specific term for each context.

equity and fairness and justice. No matter the outcome, for many residents, resistance was the only option.

Waterloo is, after all, situated in a democratic city, state and nation. The residents of Waterloo and their supporters are constituents, and the political representatives who made the decision to privatise Waterloo are—supposedly—answerable to them. Why did it seem so implausible to me, then, that they might have some sway in determining the future of the city? What makes neoliberal government so strong—and its rationalities so taken for granted—that the odds of successful resistance seem so poor? How do attempts to resist neoliberalism proceed? What is involved in refuting neoliberalism? What practices, subjectivities and knowledges do those engaged in resistance deploy? What makes them work? And, what makes them fail? These are the questions I explore in this thesis.

1.3 This research project

As mentioned above, the meta-level research question with which this thesis is concerned is *How might we think about resistance to neoliberalism?* This question is, however, too far-reaching to guide a coherent research project. I have, therefore, chosen a localised case study to facilitate my exploration of this broad provocation.

Though I want to retain a focus on resistance throughout, an exploration of the mode of government relevant to this case study is important—the resistance here (and, indeed, any resistance to power) is responding to a particular and specific form of power and mode of governing. Thus, my first research question is: *How is the redevelopment of Waterloo governed?*

In order to explore this question, I deploy a Foucauldian-inspired governmentality framework. I draw in particular on Mitchell Dean's 'analytics of government' (Dean, 2010) to explore the fields of visibilities, forms of knowledge, technologies and subjectivities relevant to the government of Waterloo and its redevelopment.

Following this, I turn the same gaze towards resistance to the redevelopment project, asking *How is the government of Waterloo resisted?* To explore this question, building on Death's work around an 'analytics of protest' (Death, 2010), I redirect Dean's 'analytics of government' to become an 'analytics of resistance', using the same framework to study the activities of Waterloo tenants engaged in resistance to the redevelopment. In doing so I provide a means of understanding the resistance to neoliberal power occurring in Waterloo, while also demonstrating that government and resistance are essentially the same type of force, merely oriented in different

directions.

Government and resistance do not occur or operate at any point in isolation—they are, rather, constantly in dialogue, each producing, conditioning and being altered by the other. I explore a number of avenues related to the broader question *What happens when government and resistance interact in Waterloo?* I ask this question to explore what the effect of each is on the other—and in particular, to explore the practical challenges of undertaking resistance against neoliberal urban projects. To do this, I look at events from several different angles. Firstly, I use Foucault's notion of counter-conduct (Foucault, 2004b) to interrogate practices of resistance at Waterloo. Then, I focus specifically on how resistance interacts with one kind of technology deployed by the NSW Government: technologies of citizenship. These technologies include the consultation and capacity building programs that form a major component of government activity at Waterloo in these early stages of the project. Finally, I focus on an event—a theatre production—to explore how resistance, government and power are articulated, worked upon and understood by residents.

I am also interested in how we can use governmentality and ethnographic methods to explore resistance and power in neoliberal contexts. I ask *What comes to light when we use a governmentality approach and ethnographic data to understand neoliberal power and resistance?* This question is largely a reflexive one, focused on interrogating how the methods and theoretical orientation that I adopted throughout this research gave rise to a particular means of understanding power and resistance. In particular, I am interested in exploring the use of ethnographic methods in combination with a governmentality approach—a matter which has been the subject of some contention in the literature—to understand resistance specifically. The governmentality literature rarely deals with resistance as a core interest, though I do not believe that this is due to any inherent aspects of the governmentality approach, but rather is attributable to the chosen focus of scholars in this field. I will demonstrate throughout this thesis that resistance can occupy a central role in studies of governmentality and that governmentality approaches are fruitful means of exploring resistance. By using the same analytical approach to exploring both government and resistance, I aim to demonstrate that these two forms of power relations hold much in common.

As I will make clear in Chapter 2, Foucault conceived of resistance and government as mutually constitutive. Resistance, in his formulation, does not hold potential for liberation from power relations, but rather provides potential for imagining how power might be otherwise exercised. Following this conception of resistance as a power relation, I focus on resistance not to valorise it but rather to attempt to

understand it in relation to rationalities and technologies of governmental power.

The primary methodological approach I took in this research was ethnographic. Following Geertz, I understand ethnography as more than 'establishing rapport… mapping fields… keeping a diary and so on' (Geertz, 2000, p. 6)—I understand it to be 'thick description', a focus on the production, perception and interpretation of infinitely complex structures of meaning (Geertz, 2000). As I discuss in more detail in Chapter 3, on methodology, this ethnographic method should be understood as an interpretative, rather than observational, activity, and the 'data' here understood as '[my] own construction of other people's constructions of what they […] are up to' (Geertz, 2000, p. 9). That is, the data upon which I draw in this thesis is *an artefact that I have produced*, not some pre-existing information that I have merely dug up and presented here. As the ethnographer, I did not merely 'collect' the data but constructed it.

I spent almost 200 hours with residents of the Waterloo community between 2016 and 2018, observing and participating in their struggle to oppose the redevelopment. I sat through hours of meetings, volunteered in a resident-led drop-in centre, made cups of tea, wrote submissions, listened to speeches, moved furniture, provided advice, attended forums and workshops and had countless conversations with residents. I took detailed field notes throughout, which ran to around 40,000 words of notes, recording what I heard and saw, trying to capture the mood and the tone, trying to articulate the challenges and complexities of the residents' experiences. I captured my own feelings and responses, too, reflecting on my own reaction to the events unfolding around me.

I began to conduct interviews, but, as I discuss in detail in Chapter 3, quickly realised that—although the residents were eager to oblige—participating in a one-hour interview for my research was just another burden on the residents' time, adding further to the demands that the resistance efforts and consultation for the redevelopment were already placing on their time. After two interviews, I decided to focus on the extensive data collected through observation, rather than conducting further interviews. Additionally, I analysed government documents relevant to the government of public housing and of the Waterloo redevelopment.

Throughout this thesis, I focus primarily on the experiences and perspectives of the members of the action group whose activities I followed and in which I participated. As I discuss in Chapter 10, resident experiences were diverse and divergent, and the members of the action group were scarcely able to claim to 'represent' the tenants of Waterloo. I try to avoid over-generalising about 'tenants' and their experiences, and where I do talk about 'tenants', I am in general

referring to members of the action group.

The aims of my research are not normative but exploratory in nature. I do not seek to prescribe how public housing *could* be governed nor how resistance to the government of public housing *should* be practiced—instead, I want to unpick the ways in which government and resistance and constituted in Waterloo, and to bring to light how resistance interacts with a form of government that is a productive, rather than repressive, activity.

1.4 Public housing redevelopment

Governments around the world, including in Australia, have pursued public housing renewal with 'vigour' (Darcy, 2010). The redevelopment of Waterloo is linked to an enthusiasm shared amongst neoliberally-inclined governments for public housing renewal and the creation of 'mixed communities'.

There is an extensive literature on the neoliberalisation of housing and its manifestation in processes of gentrification, urban renewal and displacement (Harvey, 2008; Madden and Marcuse, 2016; Butler, Bridge and Lees, 2011; Wacquant, 2014). Within this literature is a more focussed body of work on the renewal and development of public housing estates.

In this section, I provide an overview of the key themes in the literature on estate redevelopment. Public housing redevelopment has generally been justified through the use of 'social mix' programs, which seek to redevelop concentrated public housing estates to achieve greater tenure and demographic diversity. Social mix policies originate in the notion of 'neighbourhood effects', which problematises concentrations of disadvantage as the cause of poverty. For this reason, I begin my discussion of this policy context with an overview of neighbourhood effects.

1.4.1 Neighbourhood effects

The 'neighbourhood effects' thesis was first proposed by Julius Wilson, based on his observation of deep and concentrated poverty in Chicago's public housing projects (Wilson, 1987). Wilson's idea was that poverty and deprivation are caused—or, at least, exacerbated—through the occurrence of concentrations of disadvantaged households in urban areas such as public housing projects (Darcy, 2013).

The neighbourhood effects thesis relies on the notion that living in disadvantaged communities compounds households' experience of

disadvantage primarily through limiting exposure to the types of social capital which could bring about employment and other opportunities, worsening the life chances of the poor people who live there. It posits that 'a geographic propinquity of numbers of disadvantaged households' translates into a 'social or cultural dynamic at the local level which compounds and perpetuates disadvantage' (Darcy, 2010, p. 3).

The neighbourhood effects thesis rests on a conception of poverty that is generated by household shortcomings (inadequate social capital, lack of exposure to networks that could help gain employment, etc) rather than structural factors and inequalities (lack of low-skill jobs, chronic working poverty, etc). In this way, the thesis correlates strongly with a neoliberal conception of poverty and disadvantage as attributable to individual deficiencies. The concept of neighbourhood effects assumes that living in mixed communities with higher proportions of middle-class households provides benefits to disadvantaged households by giving them opportunities for exposure to the (assumedly greater) social capital of middle-class inhabitants, supposedly improving their life chances across areas such as health, employment and education.

This claim runs counter to the evidence on the benefits that social tenure provides for low-income households. While the neighbourhood effects thesis relies on an understanding of public housing that is 'nightmarish, obsolete and best torn down', the households who live in such communities view it differently (Slater, 2013a, p. 384). Indeed, while many public housing residents note that there are problems with their housing that could be improved, most see themselves as 'living in communities with problems, not problem communities' (Vale, 2013, p. 1860).

Many tenants of public housing share with their neighbours a 'common project of living'—a bond of 'getting by' that unites neighbours suffering similar disadvantage (Manzo, Kleit, & Couch, 2008, p. 1861). The security and stability provided by their public tenure is extremely important to many public housing residents, for whom financial and housing security are often major life goals (Manzo et al., 2008, p. 1870). Public housing provides opportunity to establish roots and build social networks (Ziersch & Arthurson, 2005), and provides a stable base from which tenants may build skills and capacities (Arthurson & Jacobs, 2009).

Enjoying security of tenure and housing stability provides public tenants with benefits that may even counter the negative aspects of living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Morris, 2009, 2013). Residents often develop a feeling of safety even within their high-crime neighbourhoods which stems directly from 'long-standing social ties' built through stable communities made possible by security

of tenure (Clampet-Lundquist, 2010, p. 94). Of course, public housing is for many a fraught tenure, and living in disadvantaged communities is not without drawbacks: structural limitations such as reduced access to vital services (retail facilities and public services, for example) being one such disadvantage (Galster, 2007). In contrast to the tenets of the neighbourhood effects thesis, however, public housing still provides many benefits that help residents cope with the experience of disadvantage.

Soon after Wilson proposed it, the neighbourhood effects thesis came to be taken for granted amongst many housing researchers, policy makers and housing professionals, as the explanation for—or at least an exacerbating factor in—the poverty experienced by residents of public housing estates. Despite limited evidence in the literature that such relationships exist (Galster, 2007; Galster & Hedman, 2013) (Manley, van Ham, & Doherty, 2012), neighbourhood effects has come to be considered 'common sense' in neoliberal housing policy and remains largely unquestioned in policy circles (Darcy, 2010, p. 3). Wilson's hypothesis for explaining poverty in Chicago has been elevated to the level of 'truth', used by states worldwide to problematise concentrations of disadvantage, many of which were created through state policies around housing assistance.

1.4.2 Social mix

The problematisation of concentrations of disadvantage through the idea of neighbourhood effects has given rise to the concept of 'social mix', a policy response that seeks to address such concentrations. Social mix policies, as implemented across the US, UK, Australia and Europe, have tended to focus on the concentrations of disadvantage in public housing estates, targeting mid-century estates for redevelopment projects that involve the dispersal and/or dilution of poor incumbent communities and their replacement with new, privately-led developments primarily composed of middle-class households (Butler, Bridge and Lees, 2011; Goetz, 2010).

Policymakers have enthusiastically embraced social mix policies as a panacea for urban challenges, with housing officials accepting social mix as a fait accompli for addressing concentrations of poverty (Arthurson, 2008, p. 486). A major program of estate renewal has been instigated across US cities through the HOPE (Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere) VI program, which has seen tens of thousands of public housing units demolished and replaced by private market housing, with the majority of residents displaced to scattered units using housing vouchers (Vale, 2013), ostensibly with the aim of achieving socially-mixed communities.

However, the literature expresses far more ambivalence about the

effectiveness of social mix policies, with many contributions suggesting that social mix policies do little or nothing to alleviate households' experience of disadvantage—and, more alarmingly, that the impacts of forced displacement on low-income families may in fact be *detrimental* to their well-being (Bolt, Phillips, & Van Kempen, 2010).

Social mix has manifested in a number of different ways in various contexts. In some cases, social mix has been used as a design principle in new housing developments, with various tenure and subsidy arrangements intended to ensure an ongoing social mix (Williams, 1997). In the US, HOPE VI has largely seen a pattern of achieving social mix through displacement (Goetz, 2010), in which incumbent residents of estates dispersed to scattered sites. A third model, most common in Australia to date, has been social mix through redevelopment, which generally sees at least some incumbent residents given the opportunity to remain on site, with an uplift in density used to accommodate newcomers whose presence alters the social and tenure mix (Darcy, 2010). Here, I am focused on these latter two approaches, which are most relevant to Waterloo.

A key aspect of the rationale used to justify social mix projects is the notion that disadvantaged households will enjoy improved opportunities for building social capital in the new and mixed communities developed through these projects (Arthurson, 2010). Supposedly, proximity to middle-class and employed households will confer upon residents opportunities to improve social capital through building relationships with educated, employed and wealthier households (Arthurson, 2010). However, evidence in the literature suggests that, rather than building social ties, policies that involve dispersal of existing communities tend to *diminish* social ties for displaced households—many of whom have difficulty establishing social relationships in new neighbourhoods (Bolt et al., 2010). Tenants are more likely to retain links to previous neighbourhoods than to make new ties in the areas to which they are relocated (Popkin, Harris, & Cunningham, 2002; Clampet-Lundquist, 2004).

Depression and grief experienced due to displacement are key factors preventing residents from establishing social ties in their new neighbourhoods (Clampet-Lundquist, 2004), as is the time taken—often years—to establish social bonds in a new neighbourhood (Clampet-Lundquist, 2004), which can be further hampered by the instability that results from tenancies in the private rental sector. Other demographic factors such as age differences (Arthurson, 2010) and lifestyle differences (Fraser, Burns, Bazuin, & Oakley, 2012) between tenure groups may mean little day-to-day interaction occurs between neighbours (Arthurson, 2015), limiting opportunities for building meaningful connections.

The literature suggests that, while social mix policies may stack up on paper, 'an extensive chain of contingent events must occur if displaced residents in social mix programs are to realise the supposed benefits of such moves (Bolt et al., 2010, p. 132).

The literature on health impacts for dispersed residents of public housing estates, for example, offers a damning assessment of social mix policies. Serially-displaced communities display heightened levels of violence, sexually-transmitted diseases, substance abuse and other significant health concerns (Fullilove & Wallace, 2011). Displaced tenants suffer from lowered levels of social support, and enjoy few improvements in their material, health and economic living conditions (Keene & Geronimus, 2011). Some of the worst experiences have been felt by those 'hardest to house'—that subgroup of residents who suffer multiple complex problems and who will struggle with the transition to unsupported mixed-income or private market housing (Popkin et al., 2004). Some social mix programs require that tenants meet a range of criteria in order to be rehoused within the mixed community that replaces their housing estate, and many others merely provide displaced tenants with a voucher to receive a subsidy for private rental housing—a tenure far more precarious for disadvantaged households than public housing (Fennell, 2015). This exposes displaced households to a range of risks and insecurities, including forced eviction, escalating utility bills and isolation from social networks due to limited locational choice (Fennell, 2015; Popkin, Cunningham, & Burt, 2005).

The cultural practices of low-income public housing residents are often stamped out by the management practices of redeveloped mixed-income communities (Vale, 2013). Often this is due to the low-income residents' practices being seen by middle class residents as indicators that the social order could deteriorate over time due to poor behaviour on the part of social housing residents (Fraser et al., 2012). The design and governance of new mixed-income communities may restrict opportunities for interaction between low-income tenants, limiting their ability to retain relationships with kin, friends and former neighbours (Arthurson, Levin, & Ziersch, 2015a; Fennell, 2015). Social differences between publicly- and privately-tenured residents further limit neighbourhood cohesion across class groups, such as the fact that middle class neighbours often send their children out-of-area for schooling (Arthurson, 2010).

At best, the relationships between middle class households and low-income public and social tenants have been found to be superficial (Popkin et al., 2004)—far from enough to confer real benefits for improving one's life chances. At worst, the effects of such policies have been punitive, stigmatising and discriminatory (Arthurson, 2010; Fennell, 2015; Popkin et al., 2004), as many tenants displaced through redevelopment projects find themselves subject to punitive

and controlling measures in their new, mixed income communities. The literature suggests, then, that the residents of Waterloo may indeed have good reason to fear the 'socially mixed' redevelopment.

In short, there appears to be limited evidence for the existence of neighbourhood effects and for the effectiveness of social mix policies in realising their stated goals, but ample evidence for the negative effects of the renewal and displacement that such policies involve. Despite this, governments around the world, including in Australia, have enthusiastically embraced social mix policies as a response to declining public housing estates.

1.5 Understanding social mix

In addition to the more positivist approaches mentioned above, scholars have undertaken a number of critical explorations of social mix. A key question for a critical approach is not so much 'do social mix renewals achieve their objectives?', but rather, something more like—as Darcy puts it—'to what extent are these phenomena genuine attempts to improve the lives of poor households, an unwarranted imposition of middle class aspirations and values, or a manifestation of neo-liberal economic restructuring of urban society?' (Darcy, 2010, p. 5). Critical approaches generally target the *rationalities* that give rise to such policies and the *objectives* that they claim to work towards, rather than assess the outcomes of these policies or to what extent they achieve these objectives.

1.5.1 Critical discourse analysis

Critical discourse analysis has been an approach frequently drawn upon by housing scholars to unpick public housing renewal programs. I discuss several key strands of this literature, beginning with the focus on social exclusion.

Several scholars focused on estate renewal have used Levitas' work on discourses of social exclusion to understand social mix policies.[5] Levitas (1996) identified several commonly-used discursive strategies that construct the causes of social exclusion in particular ways, ranging from those which blame the unequal structures of society (social integrationist discourses) to those which blame the existence of a 'moral underclass' for the persistence of social exclusion. Housing

[5] Scholars in housing studies more broadly began to adopt a focus on identifying discourses of social exclusion in the late 1990s and early 2000s (see for example Arthurson (2003, 2009), Marsh and Mullins (1998), Watt and Jacobs (2000) and Somerville (1998) among many others).

scholars including Arthurson (2004), Darcy (2010), Goodchild and Cole (2001), and Doney et al (2013) have adopted a social exclusion focus for their discourse analysis in part because the notion of social exclusion is often explicitly used by policy makers to justify interventions in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. These discourse analyses have identified and pulled apart some of the underlying logics and discursive strategies at play in public housing redevelopment.

As Darcy identifies, a crucial aspect of social exclusion discourses is that they focus on an imagined boundary around society, and problematises those who sit outside of this boundary, rather than problematising the existence of the boundary itself (Darcy, 2010). Darcy uses a critical discourse approach to explore the ways in which public housing is constructed through government discourse as a *cause* of disadvantage—and notes that this construction is central to discourse around social mix and redevelopment (Darcy, 2010). The 'moral underclass discourse' of social exclusion, he finds, is 'deeply embedded' in the logic of social mix redevelopment programs (Darcy, 2010, p. 8).

Arthurson (2004) identifies how in NSW, a discursive shift towards a moral underclass discourse (which blamed 'cultures of poverty' for persistent disadvantage) accompanied a policy shift relating to a public housing estate on Sydney's fringe. This shift involved the NSW Government's approach moving away from a focus on estate improvement towards one which pursued its demolition and replacement with a 'mixed' community. The discursive shift around social exclusion, she argues, enabled a transformation of policy from maintenance to redevelopment (Arthurson, 2004).

In the UK context, Goodchild and Cole (2001) analyse housing policy and management discourse to understand the layers and contradictions inherent in the notion of 'social balance' as a concept that is driving policy. They argue that, when viewed at the national and local levels, contradictions appear in discourse that show that, despite claims to be countering social exclusion, estate renewal and social balance policies actually *reify* social exclusion through implementing social control practices. Goodchild and Cole's critical approach allows them to pull apart the notion of social balance, rather than explore the extent to which government policies do or do not achieve it.

Goetz (2013) uses critical discourse analysis to explore the framing of HOPE VI redevelopments in the US. He argues that a 'discourse of disaster' is used to establish both the policy 'problem' and its correlative solution (2013, p. 342). This discursive construction of place through HOPE VI is also examined by Pfeiffer, who argues that the displacement of low-income residents from spaces such as

Chicago's Cabrini-Green public housing is 'primarily' achieved through 'discourse manipulation' (Pfeiffer, 2006, p. 39). She interprets the rebranding of the neighbourhood as a discursive strategy to erase the former, stigmatised neighbourhood and replace it with an image more palatable to capital and newcomers.

These critical discourse analyses provide crucial input into the literature, by uncovering the discursive strategies at work in constructing public housing estates as a policy problem and establishing social mix redevelopments as their correlative policy response.

1.5.2 Right to the city

Much of the literature on more 'traditional' or 'first wave' forms of gentrification has come to focus on quantifying the extent to which it actually displaces low-income incumbent households and modelling these dynamics. However, as noted by Goetz, the state-led gentrification generated by redevelopment programs such as HOPE VI *begins* with the displacement of residents (Goetz, 2010). Displacement is not merely a side-effect or an unintended consequence, but is a central mechanism of the instrument, part of both its purpose and its implementation. As redevelopments of this kind are undertaken on public housing estates around the world, many tens of thousands of low-income residents are finding themselves set adrift in their cities—either washing up in newly redeveloped estates, in public housing or subsidised housing elsewhere, or, especially for those hardest to house, finding themselves homeless.

These incidents of displacement have led many scholars to bring questions of social mix into view in terms of the right to the city (Lefebvre, 1995): asking *who has the right to belong in the city?*

Darcy and Rogers (2014) ask this question with a specific focus on neoliberalism and the notion of the 'flawed consumer', following Bauman (1998). They argue that the right to belong in the neoliberal city is exercised through performance as *consumer*. Public housing tenants, who 'fail' to participate in the housing market, effectively give up their rights to the city when they fail to behave as consumers. In the context of citizenship rights that are defined largely through consumption and property rights, the tenants of public housing estates, argue Darcy and Rogers (2014), find few opportunities to call authorities to account for the upheavals to which they are subjected.

Arthurson, Levin and Ziersch (2015a) also adopt a 'right to the city' framework to evaluate the impacts of a socially-mixed redevelopment program in Melbourne, Australia. They argue that the limited

consultation with public housing residents about the redevelopment, in addition to design decisions that restrict public tenants' enjoyment of open space on the site, impinge upon their rights to the city. Their use of 'the right to the city' allows some theorisation about the impacts of the resulting redeveloped estate, which sees public and private residents located in proximity, but with significant restrictions upon the movements of public tenants within the arrangement. While some mix was ostensibly achieved through the redevelopment insofar as residents are living in a mixed-tenure development, this was not achieved without impinging upon the rights to participation and access of the low-income residents (Arthurson, Levin, & Ziersch, 2015b).

The adoption of the notion of the 'right to the city' has allowed scholars to look beyond questions of 'balancing' the spatial distribution of different populations and ask instead what these social mix programs mean for the right to belong in the neoliberal city—especially for low-income and publicly-housed residents.

1.5.3 Class-based analysis

David Harvey (2008) uses the notion of 'accumulation by dispossession' to describe the neoliberal orientation to urbanisation. 'Accumulation by dispossession' feels apt for describing processes of estate redevelopment that aim to uproot low-income communities and make available public assets for privatisation—and this conceptualisation has indeed been taken up by many scholars who have explored social mix programs in terms of their class implications and neoliberal drivers.

Hodkinson and Essen (2015) explore how accumulation by dispossession is experienced by residents of a redeveloping public housing estate in the UK. They identify how legal instruments are used both discursively and technically to bring about the regeneration of public housing estates. They argue that the dispossession experienced through estate regeneration is threefold: involving dispossession of rights, dispossession of homes, and dispossession of place (Hodkinson & Essen, 2015).

Most class-based analyses of social mix programs view these policies—at least to some extent—as processes of 'state-led gentrification', that is, a class-based upgrading of declining public housing estates prompted by government policy and investment. Butler, Bridge and Lees advanced this notion with an edited volume on the subject, titled *Mixed communities: Gentrification by stealth?* (2011), in which many of the contributions approached social mix redevelopment projects as examples of gentrification led and managed by the state. A number of other measures, such as the transfer of public housing to community

housing providers, have been described alongside estate renewal as a 'Trojan horse' for ushering in gentrification (Watt, 2009, p. 240). Contributions conceptualising social mix as state-led gentrification have helped foster an understanding of such policies as *classed* projects focused on shifting the demographics of the inner city to make it ripe for reinvestment.

Several scholars use the notion of (re)colonisation to describe the process of gentrification that occurs as middle-class households are encouraged to move into former public housing estates through social mix programs. Fraser et al (2012) argue that HOPE VI redevelopments and similar renewal processes might be viewed as processes of colonisation, involving as they do a hierarchical organisation of people by class and housing status to give rise to a policy response that involves the injection of those of 'higher' status into declining neighbourhoods to prompt role modelling (Fraser et al., 2012). Kipfer and Petrunia, focused on Toronto, similarly argue that the redevelopment of public housing is not merely an example of 'state-managed gentrification' but is also a 'multi-pronged, racialised' strategy to recolonise a pathologised but potentially valuable inner-city area (Kipfer & Petrunia, 2009, p. 111). They argue that social housing redevelopment can be read as an important aspect of the 'regulation of territorial relations' and that moves to renew estates as 'socially mixed' communities are a continuation of the trend to see those spaces historically inhabited by low-income and marginalised groups dominated by wealthier groups (Kipfer & Petrunia, 2009, p. 114). Understanding public housing redevelopment as state-led colonisation of low-income communities, argue Fraser and colleagues (2012), allows us to see the ways in which such programs encourage certain groups to claim rights to place while others—often the incumbent residents—are excluded from doing so. They argue that, were the objective of social mix programs simply to provide better quality housing for incumbent residents, the displacement of low-income residents and the injection of middle-class households would not be necessary (Fraser et al., 2012). Instead, HOPE VI and similar projects are aimed at making neighbourhoods 'safe for external investment and real estate development' (Fraser et al., 2012, p. 551), requiring the displacement, containment and colonisation of low-income residents.

Hodkinson (2011) examines neoliberal regeneration of public housing estates by looking at the logics at play in the Private Finance Initiative, a public-private partnership in the UK to fund delivery of new infrastructure, including social housing. Hodkinson argues that the Private Finance Initiative delivers long-term profits to private developers at the expense of public funds and local democracy, and unleashes a process of 'state-led gentrification' through 'powerful privatising and marketising pressures' (Hodkinson, 2011, p. 360). Like Watt (2009), Hodkinson uses the term 'Trojan Horse' to describe

the program of estate regeneration that is ushering neoliberalising forces into local housing management (2011, p. 366), arguing that the proponents' claims that they aim merely to provide 'decent homes' for all citizens are a means of masking the privatisation and marketisation of social housing.

Due to a preponderance of evidence about social mix in the US thanks to the nation-wide HOPE VI program, the literature on this theme tends to be heavily weighted towards US sources. However, given the growing Australian experience with social mix, there is a body of work about social mix in the Australian context. I will turn now to specific evidence about the Australian experience with social mix policies.

1.6 The Australian literature

Though perhaps less severely deprived than, say, the projects of Chicago or Atlanta targeted by the HOPE VI program, by the 1990s much of the mid-century public housing in Australia was in a similar downward spiral: poorly maintained housing became a tenure of last resort, eligibility criteria was tightened due to a failure to invest in new stock, and the tenure became stigmatised and residualised, housing only the poorest of the poor and thus returning declining revenues (Arthurson, 2004; Jacobs et al., 2010).

In response, beginning in the 1990s, state governments began implementing renewal programs, ostensibly to address declining physical and social conditions. These redevelopments also served to make public assets available for privatisation, and provided a means to inject private capital into areas that had previously been off-limits for real estate investment.

1.6.1 Questionable success

The literature on social mix in Australia suggests that the residents of Waterloo have reasonable cause for concern about the socially mixed redevelopment intended for their community. The literature tends to present ambivalent findings about the legacy of estate redevelopment, with much of the Australian work published to date suggesting that—as has been the case in international experiences—social mix programs have failed to fulfil their ostensible goal of improving the lives of incumbent residents of disadvantaged areas. Redevelopment projects and sales of public housing have been found to be unlikely to benefit the most vulnerable tenants—though they were likely to exacerbate already-lengthy public housing wait times (Arthurson, 1998).

Social mix has been implemented in Australia in a rather ad hoc

fashion—that is, without policy makers having developed an understanding of the complexities of actually achieving the objectives of social mix policies (Arthurson, 1998). The literature is also far from glowing about the successes of social mix, with evidence suggesting that redevelopments contribute to worsened stigma for public tenants (Arthurson, 2004, 2013), traumatic experiences of relocation (Morris, 2017), heightened conflict between social tenants and neighbours (Arthurson, 2010), limited opportunities for tenant input (Arthurson et al., 2015a; Darcy & Rogers, 2015; Morris, 2017; Stubbs & Minto Resident Action Group, 2005), negative impacts on tenant health (Arthurson, Levin, & Ziersch, 2016), and alienation of tenants from their enjoyment of any 'right to the city' (Arthurson, 2001; Arthurson et al., 2015a). Further, tenants who have been relocated offsite through redevelopment programs have experienced breakdowns in community connections and support, exacerbating their experiences of disadvantage (Arthurson, 1998).

1.6.2 Estate redevelopment in New South Wales

Redevelopment of public housing in NSW began in earnest in the 1990s. Many of the estates being redeveloped in the 1990s were located in the fringes of Australia's cities—for example, Airds, 60 kilometres from Sydney's CBD (Arthurson, 1998). In NSW, few of these early renewal projects actually involved demolition and reconstruction of housing, but instead upgrades infrastructure and facilities to improve the amenity of public housing estates (Arthurson, 1998). The redevelopment of Minto, near Airds, in the city's south-west, marked a key shift towards a renewal strategy that drew explicitly upon the notion of social mix to justify wholesale redevelopment of public housing (Darcy, 2007).

In 2016, the New South Wales unveiled a new program, Communities Plus, which will see socially-mixed redevelopment projects rolled out across dozens of public housing estates across the state. Communities Plus aligns with the general direction of policy across Australian states in recent years, which has seen focus shift from the upgrading of broad acre estates in fringe areas to wholesale renewal of inner-city housing estates (Arthurson et al., 2015a).

Several estate redevelopment projects have been the focus of academic attention in New South Wales—in particular, Minto, Bonnyrigg and Millers Point. These redevelopments represent the broad arc of interest turning increasingly towards the inner city: Minto is in Sydney's furthest south-west reaches, around 60 kilometres from the city centre; Bonnyrigg is a middle-ring suburb, around 30 kilometres from the centre; while Millers Point is a harbour-side suburb adjacent to the CBD. Each of these redevelopments have been plagued by

tenant disaffection with the redevelopment process.

The *Leaving Minto* report (Stubbs & Minto Resident Action Group, 2005) details the difficulties experienced by residents of Minto as they were displaced from their publicly rented homes in Sydney's south-west. Stubbs outlines that 'a significant number of residents' have experienced 'grief, loss and distress' due to the redevelopment project (2005, p. 180). A lack of proper planning and social impact assessment meant that NSW Government failed to consider the impacts that the redevelopment would have upon residents. Stubbs argues that the social and economic impacts upon tenants are 'a serious cause for concern', especially as relates to the loss of public housing stock and the loss of social capital that residents had spent years generating (2005, p. 180).

Darcy reports that a key shortcoming of both the Minto and Bonnyrigg redevelopments was a lack of consultation with tenants (Darcy, 2007). In Bonnyrigg, despite promises of adequate consultation, the state government circulated a tender brief—which stipulated key dimensions of the redevelopment such as a 70:30 private/public tenure mix—to potential private partners prior to the commencement of any consultation with tenants, indicating to tenants that the key parameters for the redevelopment were already set (Darcy, 2007, p. 356). This lack of consultation made tenants feel powerless in their status as 'housos' (a derogatory term in NSW referring to public housing tenants) (Darcy, 2007, p. 357).

Millers Point is something of an outlier amongst these cases, but is worth mentioning here due to its geographical proximity to Waterloo and because it provides context for the way that Waterloo has been handled by the government. The displacement of tenants from Millers Point was undertaken to sell—rather than redevelop—the public housing there. Residents of Millers Point were displaced in the years between 2014 and 2019 so that the NSW Government could arrange the sale of around $AU500 million worth of housing, including a high-rise tower, Sirius, an architectural icon with views of Sydney's harbour. Morris (2017) writes of the trauma experienced by residents of Millers Point, who were displaced without consultation and with the threat of loss of public housing tenancies if they did not comply with relocation timelines. Morris argues that the government proceeded with the eviction of tenants at Millers Point with no regard for the welfare or experiences of the long-term residents of the neighbourhood, many of whom had been born in the area and lived there for many decades. The term 'cruel' abounds in tenants' and others' descriptions of the displacement of tenants (Morris, 2016), and the government faced a great deal of negative media around the removal of elderly tenants in particular (Darcy & Rogers, 2015).

Darcy and Rogers (2015) note that the justification for the sale and

upgrade of housing at Millers Point varies from that used to redevelop other public housing. In Minto and Bonnyrigg, the degraded physical conditions of the estate were the primary justification drawn upon by the government, which saw redevelopment as an opportunity to inject private capital into declining areas through privatisation of public land. However, rather than invoking the notion of 'social mix', the NSW State Government claimed that the sale of housing at Millers Point was aimed at freeing up capital to allow the Government to build public housing elsewhere (Darcy & Rogers, 2015). In contrast with the Government's prevailing concern with social mix elsewhere, the effect of the Millers Point redevelopment has been to 'un-mix' the neighbourhood through displacing tenants to parts of the city where 'land values more closely reflect their socio-economic position' (Darcy & Rogers, 2015, p. 3).

Redevelopment in NSW is, then, taking some variety of forms, though is generally now typified by socially-mixed regeneration projects being led by private developers and targeting estates located on high-value land. In some cases, incumbent tenants are relocated on site while others are moved—temporarily or permanently, depending on the site—to other estates within the city. The 'ascendancy of an instrumental [neoliberal] rationality', argues Morris, means that public housing tenants in NSW now realise their displacement to far flung parts of the city is an 'ever present possibility' (2017, p. 469).

1.7 Resisting renewal

Despite the profusion of articles exploring the impacts of social mix on the low-income communities affected by it, and a shared sense that, as Morris writes, the threat of eviction is now ever-present for public housing tenants, little attention has been paid specifically to exploring resident responses—and in particular, resistance—to public housing renewal. In many articles, resistance is mentioned only in passing. Indeed, the privatisation of urban space through renewal and dispossession has in many ways contributed to the spread of neoliberal rationalities, helping to 'cultivate the conditions in which people become entrepreneurial, self-reliant, rational economic actors' who are 'unwilling to resist or contest the way things are' (Hodkinson, 2012, p. 513). However, this should not be read as resulting in a total lack of activism: estate redevelopment projects have indeed prompted resistance and activism, and this has been documented in the literature arising from a number of contexts, though primarily the UK and the US.

Here, I provide a brief overview of those articles which directly and specifically address resistance to public housing renewal, discussing briefly their approaches and findings. I begin with the international

literature, before I turn my focus on the Australian literature in the following section.

Resistance to stock transfer of public housing in the UK has been well-documented. While being different in form from the redevelopment of Waterloo, stock transfer has constituted a privatisation of council estates. The transfer of social housing to non-government housing associations, together with Right-to-Buy and other measures, meant than half of the UK's social housing had been privatised in some form by 2005 (Ginsburg, 2005). Stock transfer has emerged through different rationalisations and takes a different form to that of social mix redevelopments, being largely focused around private management of housing rather than socially-mixed communities, which is why this literature did not feature much in my discussion of public housing redevelopment above. However, stock transfer has been met with tenant resistance in a significant number of instances (Ginsburg, 2005), and many of these campaigns have similarities to those staged against redevelopments. Given these similarities, and the relative paucity of literature on resistance to redevelopments, I include some discussion of resistance to stock transfer throughout this section. I note, however, that the stock transfer process was received in varying ways by tenants in different estates. Stock transfer was presented to tenants as a way to secure re-investment in dilapidated estates and declining neighbourhoods (McKee, 2007). Unlike in the NSW experience, tenants were given the opportunity to vote for stock transfer, (McKee, 2011) reframing the privatisation as a matter of tenant choice and thus meaning that campaigns were less residents-versus-government and more campaigns for residents' votes. For many tenants, stock transfer was a welcome process which promised re-investment in their estates, while for others it appeared to be privatisation. As I will discuss in later chapters, this reflects the diversity of tenant perspectives in Waterloo, and underscores the importance of not speaking of 'the tenants' as though they are a unified whole.

Discursive strategies to 're-claim' spaces appear to be common in resistance efforts opposing public housing renewal. Goetz describes how public housing tenants use a discourse centred on 'home'—including through the publication of *We Call These Projects Home*, a report about their experiences—to refute the 'discourse of disaster' used by government to justify the demolition of their public housing estate (Goetz, 2013). Rejecting the dominant construction of their neighbourhood that sought to delegitimise and devalue their community, the residents worked to assert the ways in which public housing is, for them, the site of home and community (Goetz, 2013).

In Chicago, the city government has renamed many redeveloped public housing estates so that their new identities would be more palatable to incoming households. This erasure of neighbourhood

identities became a focal point of resistance for residents, and Pfeiffer describes how the incumbent residents' use of the name 'Cabrini-Green'—the original and much-maligned name of a redeveloped public housing project—became a rallying point in voicing opposition to new names that erased the neighbourhood's stigmatised past (Pfeiffer, 2006).

Discursive reclaiming has also been practiced in relation not just to places but to social tenants' subjectivities and identities. Watt (2008) describes how a campaign to prevent the transfer of social housing stock to non-government associations in Wycombe, UK, worked to present a counter-hegemonic discourse of tenants as 'ordinary people', rather than as the 'socially excluded underclass' which they tended to appear as in governmental and media discourse.

Transformation of the self is another theme of stock transfer scholarship. McCormack (2008) uses a perspective built on the contribution of Paulo Freire to explore tenant experiences of opposing stock transfer on public housing estates in the UK. McCormack finds that, in contrast to the 'mass of tenants' who experienced 'fear… resignation, fatalism and silence' (McCormack, 2008, p. 16), tenant activists practiced empathy, curiosity, solidarity, and the ability to problematise issues, describing their involvement in activism as a process of experiential learning and *conscientisation*—the realisation of critical consciousness (McCormack, 2008, p. 16).

The campaign against stock transfer in the UK has also been characterised by a high level of organisation at the national level. Defend Council Housing brings together representatives from across England to deliver a national campaign, developing and sharing resources such as guidelines for running campaigns against transfer ballots, advice for activists, templates for petitions and campaign materials, and other resources. The fact that stock transfer was brought about through a ballot which allowed tenants to 'choose' (Watt, 2008) whether or not to move to a new landlord is perhaps a key reason for an active and national campaign was able to arise—that is, giving tenants a vote (which so rarely occurs in estate renewal programs) perhaps provided extra stimulus for campaigns around stock transfer.

Several articles explore the reasons why resistance has failed or failed to mobilise against public housing renewal in a variety of settings. August's paper (2016) on (the lack of) resistance to public housing renewal in Chicago, for example, explores factors that she believes contributed to the failure of a resistance movement to mobilise in response to the redevelopment of public housing. Key among these was the tenants' desire for new housing, which they felt could only be achieved through the same redevelopment that would gentrify and displace their community. But also relevant was the lack of power that

residents felt they possessed, as well as the fear of consequences if they dared to speak out against the redevelopment.

Wright (2006) focuses on the Coalition to Protect Public Housing, mobilised in Chicago in opposition to the loss of public housing rendered possible through HOPE VI. She describes the ongoing challenges faced by the Coalition, including internal debates about whether their efforts should compete with 'official' bodies elected to represent tenants, and whether to shift tactics as the policy landscape changed. That is, the group struggled with whether to shift their protest demands in response to the implementation of the HOPE VI program, or to stay firm in their demands. She notes that residents were divided: 'Some wanted to fight on the grounds we had before, and others were saying that we need to recognise that it is a new day' (Wright, 2006, p. 142). Wright also argues that the political climate in Chicago meant that dissent to policy decisions made by the Mayor's office was made difficult through the extraordinary power and influence held by the Mayor at the time, making non-profits and other community organisations unwilling to protest decisions around public housing for fear of the implications of their involvement (Wright, 2006).

The literature reports on residents, too, being fearful of the consequences of participating in tenant activism, including in redevelopments in Toronto (August, 2016), Chicago (Wright, 2006) and Sydney (Morris, 2016). Precariously-housed tenants worry for their livelihoods, wellbeing and tenure if they participate in activism and are seen as troublemakers. This is particularly so in cases where a right to return is not guaranteed but is contingent on households meeting a range of criteria, many of which centre on behaviour (Fennell, 2015).

Howard describes the strategies of 'affective activism' deployed in San Francisco amongst tenants of public housing in an attempt to fortify residents against some of the challenges mentioned above (Howard, 2014). Through fostering intentional relationships and building community, tenants were able to engage in 'wide ranging activist practices' that worked to improve their housing conditions (Howard, 2014, p. xiii).

Most of the literature focused on resistance to public housing renewal focuses on the international experience. I will turn now to the Australia experience, providing an overview of the ways in which resistance to redevelopment has been documented in the literature.

1.8 The Australian experience: resisting redevelopment

Unlike the UK, where a tenants' movement has had a long and influential history (Bradley, 2014; Gray, 2018), Australia—perhaps because of its strong emphasis on homeownership—has never seen a strong tenants' movement.

The Green Bans (Burgmann & Burgmann, 1999; Darcy & Rogers, 2015; Iveson, 2014) were perhaps Australia's most significant urban resistance movement. The Green Bans campaigned for the protection of workers' housing, as well as heritage and environmental assets in Sydney throughout the 1970s, using union strikes to prevent construction on sites deemed contrary to community interests (Iveson, 2010). While an important aspect of Australia's urban history, this was a labour movement focused on urban-scale issues—this was, as Iveson (2010, p. 610) describes, a struggle over *geography*—rather than on tenants' rights specifically (and, in fact, the Green Bans ended up *opposing* the construction of public housing in Waterloo, because of its implications for the demolition of heritage workers' housing).

Though much of the literature on redevelopment and social mix in Australia argues that public housing tenants feel, at best, ambivalent about these policies (see Arthurson et al., 2015b), there is limited evidence in the literature that residents of redeveloping public housing estates have mounted resistance campaigns. Tenant resistance to public housing redevelopment and privatisation in Australia is not entirely unheard of, but neither has it been high profile (Darcy & Rogers, 2015). What resistance has occurred to public housing sales and redevelopment has been little explored in the academic literature. Similarly, it has seen little coverage in the media.

Until the recent Millers Point sale, the broader Australian public has not generally shown interest in joining resistance against the sale or redevelopment of public housing. Thanks to their area's iconic location, important architectural and heritage values, and the significant history of resistance and activism in the neighbourhood (including it being a focal point for the Green Bans, mentioned above), the residents of Millers Point enjoyed substantial assistance from the broader Sydney and NSW community (Darcy & Rogers, 2015). Architects, lawyers, politicians, consultants and media personalities, among others, stepped in to assist the community, writing reports, staging legal challenges and attracting media attention (Darcy & Rogers, 2015). The 'local historical resonance' of Millers Point served to rally residents around common meanings and values and allowed them to forge a campaign narrative that echoed beyond the

neighbourhood (Darcy & Rogers, 2015, p. 5).

This support for the Millers Point tenants' struggle stands in contrast to the broader experience of residents resisting public housing redevelopment programs, which have generally flown under the radar. It has been left largely to the residents themselves to attempt to resist redevelopment and sales, and to fight to have their voices heard.

A key point of contention for many residents affected by public housing redevelopment in Australia has been the lack of tenant input into redevelopment planning processes. Residents' 'voice' in these programs has primarily taken the form of reactive consultation undertaken only after major decisions about redevelopments have been made (Darcy, 2013; Rogers, 2012b).

Leaving Minto (Stubbs & Minto Resident Action Group, 2005), prepared by Judith Stubbs with and on behalf of the Resident Action Group of Minto, is an attempt to give voice to residents whose perspectives were largely going unheard throughout the redevelopment process. The report is a powerful statement about community, belonging and displacement, and is perhaps one of the clearest articulations of tenant discontent with public housing redevelopment that Australia has seen.

Darcy and Rogers (2014) explore the efforts of residents of Bonnyrigg to resist the redevelopment of their estate. They look in particular at the ways in which the strategies of neoliberal government confronted resistance (Darcy & Rogers, 2014). They describe how 'increasingly sophisticated communication and consultation strategies employed by housing authorities, accompanied by continuing powerlessness and stigmatisation of public tenants' has seen 'resistance by tenants or other groups, and the promotion of counter discourses … fragmented and localised' (Darcy & Rogers, 2015, p. 3).

In Millers Point, there 'initially was a good deal of resistance' and a 'strong feeling that the displacement was unjust and must be fought' (Morris, 2017, p. 466). However, Morris notes, once it 'became evident that the Government was absolutely determined' to move public tenants out of the neighbourhood, 'resistance started to crumble' (Morris, 2017, p. 466). In this case, the Government was able to use the termination of tenancies as a threat: Millers Point tenants were 'fearful of what might happen if they refused to move' (Morris, 2017, p. 466)—that is, they were worried that their tenancy in public housing would be terminated if they refused to accept the government's relocation offers. Residents began to feel as though resistance was futile, and found that sustaining their campaign became increasingly difficult as some tenants began to accept relocation offers.

As discussed above, some researchers seeking to theorise resistance to

public housing redevelopment have framed these campaigns in terms of rights to the city (Darcy & Rogers, 2015). Darcy and Rogers describe how resistance to the privatisation of public housing assets at Millers Point emphasised narratives of 'communal experience and wider notions of fairness and rights', countering the dominant government and media narrative which individualised responsibility for housing and conceptions of fairness (Darcy & Rogers, 2015, p. 5).

Outside the academic literature, there have been limited efforts to document the recent resistance to public housing renewal in NSW. Notable exceptions are two documentary films that have followed the stories of resistance: *The Eviction* (Lucine, 2018), chronicling the stories of Millers Point residents facing eviction to make way for the sale of public housing, and *There goes our neighbourhood* (Lewis, 2018), focused on Waterloo.

This project, then, builds on a small but growing interest in resistance to public housing redevelopment in Australia. Given the enthusiasm with which the NSW Government is implementing social-mix redevelopments in public housing estates, there is a pressing need to understand and document the impacts on incumbent residents, and to understand their efforts to resist such moves.

1.9 This thesis

In this thesis, I build on the critical work outlined above, but take it in a new theoretical direction.

While governmentality has, as I explore in the following chapter, been adopted by housing researchers to explore a range of themes around the government and management of housing, it has rarely been invoked to explore the government of public housing redevelopment. Further, it has infrequently been used to understand resistance, despite it being—as I show throughout this thesis—a useful frame through which to explore opposition to neoliberal government.

Throughout this thesis, I primarily pay attention to resistance. In order to do so, however, I require a framework that addresses the specific type of power being resisted. Neoliberal power is distinct from other forms of power and governance, and we need to deploy modes of analysis that recognise its distinctive strategies and rationalities as we explore both government and resistance. Governmentality provides an analytics for a mode of power that is productive, not repressive; that works through the agency of citizens; that guides the conduct of subjects; and that produces the knowledge needed to sustain its rationalities. Governmentality provides, as I demonstrate throughout this thesis, a frame for analysis that helps elucidate the

ways in which neoliberal government becomes challenging to resist.

In Part 1, I establish the background and context for this project. I outline the theoretical framework that I adopt throughout this thesis, establishing a governmentality approach to understanding neoliberalism. After describing the methodological approach taken, I then set about providing an overview of the Waterloo context, and zoom in on the redevelopment of public housing in Waterloo.

In Part 2, I undertake an analytics of government and resistance. Drawing on Dean's (2010) analytics of government and Death's (2010) analytics of protest, I explore how both government and resistance in Waterloo are made possible. I identify the fields of visibility, forms of knowledge, subjectivities and technologies generated to make both governing and resisting the redevelopment thinkable and doable.

In Part 3, I focus on the practice of resistance. I use Foucault's notion of counter-conduct to explore how the tenant action group practiced their opposition to the redevelopment. I adopt an understanding of 'capacity building and engagement' as technologies of government, and investigate the ways in which these technologies interact with—and co-opt and redirect—resistance. Finally, I focus on a theatre performance staged by residents of Waterloo, with my analysis focused on identifying the ways in which neoliberal conceptions of power/resistance and subjectivities are present even in spaces of resistance, and explore the challenges of practicing resistance against a form of power that is productive.

Table 1: Structure of this thesis

1	**Introduction**	the evolution of this research project an outline of this research project a review of existing literature on estate redevelopment and resistance
	Part 1: Background and context	
2	**Neoliberalism as governmentality**	introducing governmentality power and resistance in a governmentality approach governmentality approaches and housing studies
3	**Methodology**	ethnographic methods and governmentality approaches ethnographic methods and document analysis scholar-activism and ethical challenges a post-coding approach to analysis
4	**Case study: Waterloo**	the historical context public housing in decline the contemporary context
5	**The redevelopment of Waterloo**	the redevelopment program in context an overview of the redevelopment project key organisations
	Part 2: Governmentality and resistance	
6	**An analytics of government**	outlining an analytics of government fields of visibilities forms of knowledge subjectivities technologies of government
7	**Activism in Waterloo**	activist groups in Waterloo the public housing action group the alternative masterplan understanding what is being resisted
8	**An analytics of resistance**	outlining an analytics of resistance fields of visibilities forms of knowledge technologies of government subjectivities
	Part 3: Practicing resistance	
9	**Practicing counter-conduct**	introducing counter-conducts identifying objectives opposition or participation? representation
10	**Encountering technologies of citizenship**	technologies of citizenship resident participation the capacity building program consensus and the co-optation of resistance activism and government support
11	**Rehearsing the revolution: *Turning Towers***	introducing 'theatre of the oppressed' power and resistance in *Turning Towers* subjectivity and the oppressed/oppressor binary
	Discussion	key findings contributions of this thesis reflections on methodology and theoretical approach avenues for future enquiry
	Epilogue	

Part 1: Background and context

Chapter 2. Neoliberalism as governmentality

2.1 Governmentality

Throughout this thesis, I have chosen to adopt a governmentality approach to understand government and resistance in Waterloo. Governmentality approaches have their roots in the work of Michel Foucault.

As an historian, Foucault was interested in how governing was made possible in the absence of a divine right to rule, and a key problem he wished to examine was: how do we understand political philosophy without the sovereign? (Foucault, 1988, p. 121). Once the sovereign and their divine right to rule was no longer the basis of government, there necessarily arose a new way of rationalising governing (Foucault, 1988).

Governmentality is a neologism—a combination of 'governing' and 'mentality'—adopted and transformed by Foucault to describe the rationalities that make governance possible. With this term, Foucault refers to the liberal 'art' of governing or the 'rationality' of governing—by which he means the practices, truths, institutions, procedures and calculations that are required to make possible the government of free subjects (Foucault, 2002b). A rationality of government means 'a way of thinking about the nature of the practice of government' that is 'capable of making that activity thinkable and practicable' both to practitioners and to those on whom it is practiced (Gordon, 1991, p. 3).

With governmentality, Foucault establishes a framework for thinking about government that moved away from the ideas of sovereignty and juridical rule that defined earlier forms of power but which, he argues are not suitable for understanding liberal and advanced liberal forms of rule. He argues that traditional political theory is 'yet to cut off the king's head' (Foucault, 1991a, p. 121).

Foucault is interested in what governing looks like if we 'suppose that universals do not exist' (2004a, p. 3). In his introduction to his 1979 lecture series, *The Birth of Biopolitics*, Foucault draws parallels

between his approach to governmentality and his studies of madness (Foucault, 2004a). He describes his method for understanding madness in this way: 'Let's suppose that madness does not exist. If we suppose that it does not exist, then what can history make of these different events and practices which are apparently organised around something that is supposed to be madness?' (Foucault, 2004a, p. 3). In other words, by ignoring taken-for-granted concepts and discursive constructions, we can see things in a new and different light—we can look not just at how madness is treated, but how it came to be defined in different ways over time, and what the effects of these different constructions might have been. Similarly, if we assume that 'government' is not a universal, if we look at the state not as something that naturally exists but as something which is 'brought into being' through governing (Foucault, 2004a, p. 4), we can explore the ways in which the governing of subjects is made thinkable and doable—the ways that it is rationalised—in different contexts. Foucault argues that governing must have as its objective the 'bringing into being what the state should be' (Foucault, 2004a, p. 3). The 'sense and object' of governmental acts do not emerge pre-formed, but rather must be invented, created, reinforced and refined (Gordon, 1991). A governmentality approach involves seeing both government and the state not as things that exist 'naturally' but that are produced through regimes of truth and practices of governing.

Throughout this thesis, I use a governmentality approach as a lens through which to explore my case study. In this chapter, I outline my understanding of the concept of governmentality, including its implications for understanding power and resistance. I describe how I intend to apply a governmentality approach in this thesis, and provide a brief literature review outlining how governmentality approaches have been used by scholars in housing research.

I use 'governmentality' throughout this thesis to refer both to a *thing* and a *theoretical approach*. I use it to refer to the art of government, the governing mentality. However, I also use it to describe a way of seeing and an orientation towards analysis—as an approach for viewing government (Foucault, 2004b). With this, I mean to refer to an approach that seeks to identify the ways in which government is made possible, drawing on the conceptions of power, resistance, government and subjectivities mentioned throughout this outline of my theoretical framework. Before I move into further description, I'll make a brief note on terminology: 'governmentality studies' is the commonly used term to describe these approaches, and so I invoke this usage frequently when I am referring to the *approach*. However, I often also use the plural 'governmentalities' when referring to the *thing* throughout this thesis to reinforce that governmentalities are not singular, coherent, or unified.

2.2 Neoliberal governmentalities

Neoliberalism has been variously understood as a policy package, a political agenda, an ideology and a political theory. Understanding it in these terms has several consequences. An ideology provides a normative outline of conduct, a particular view of governing according to a set of principles (Larner, 2000). Foucault says the 'notion of ideology appears to me to be difficult to make use of' (2002b, p. 119 in large part because of the way it is viewed as being in opposition to 'truth'.

Viewing neoliberalism as a policy package hints at it being a 'coherent program of things to be done' (Larner, 2000, p. 8). It suggests it is consistent in all its appearances, missing the extraordinary diversity in the way neoliberalism turns up in varied contexts. Foucauldian work has tended to acknowledge the multiple and varied nature of neoliberalism (Dean, 2010), seeing it as something other than merely a package of policies to be implemented.

A governmentality approach invites an understanding of (neo)liberalism not as a doctrine or ideology, but rather a way of rationalising governing itself—liberalism is 'quintessentially concerned with the art of governing' (Gordon, 1991, p. 14).

Throughout this section, I use the term (neo)liberalism on occasion. Though Foucault refers specifically to *neo*liberalism in *The Birth of Biopolitics* and other texts, his writing primarily focuses on liberalism. However, his arguments about liberalism largely serve as an underpinning to Foucauldian understandings of neoliberalism, hence here I use (neo)liberalism when using a quote or argument from Foucault that was originally intended to describe liberalism but which has relevance to discussions of neoliberalism.

Throughout this thesis, I understand neoliberalism as an art of government—as governmentality—with a view to drawing out the ways in which it is contested, contingent, and variable. Throughout the remainder of this section, I will consider what neoliberalism looks like when viewed from this governmentality lens. Following this, I will turn attention towards describing how power and resistance are conceptualised within governmentality approaches.

Foucault is not interested in understanding (neo)liberal government as one which involves a 'quantitative increase of freedom' compared to alternatives (Foucault, 2004a, p. 62). Rather, freedom is *produced* by practices of government: a subject's freedom is not a blank surface onto which oppression may be placed, but is a product of governmental practice (Foucault, 2004a). Neoliberalism, then, is an exercise in the 'management of freedom' (Foucault, 2004a, p. 62), a

form of governing 'no less dense, frequent, active and continuous' than others (2004a, p. 145). (Neo)liberal government produces what subjects need to be 'free', creates a field of possibilities in which a 'free subject' can act, or, as Bröckling et al. (2012, p. 185) put it, 'government organises the conditions under which individuals can make use of those freedoms'.

Foucault (2004a) describes neoliberalism as a form of governing primarily concerned with applying the rationality of markets and competition to the art of government—the market, in neoliberal contexts, becomes a sort of tribunal confronting government (2004a). He argues that 'the problem of neoliberalism is how the overall exercise of political power can be modelled on the principles of a market economy' (2004a, p. 131). Rather than being concerned with 'freeing space' for the market economy to operate, neoliberalism involves applying the rationalities of the market economy to the art and practice of governing. Burchell describes the project of neoliberal governmentality as 'a question of constructing the legal, institutional and cultural conduct' that will enable an artificial, competitive and entrepreneurial conduct to emerge (1993, p. 274). Neoliberal government must both work for market competition and as a kind of enterprise itself (Burchell, 1993).

Neoliberalism is concerned not only with how the optimisation of market relations and behaviour can serve as a principle for limiting governmental intervention, but with how it can be used to *rationalise government itself* (Burchell, 1993). Government itself becomes a sort of enterprise, and economic calculation becomes a principle for limiting government actions (Burchell, 1993, p. 270). In contrast to liberalism, which involved a 'market supervised by the state', neoliberalism involves 'turning the formula around' to allow 'a state under the supervision of the market' (Foucault, 2004a, p. 116).

Following Foucault, Gordon argues that neoliberalism involves a 'global redescription of the social as a form of the economic', as competition, choice and enterprise become key principles for the rational conduct in the social (Gordon, 1991, p. 43). There is a tendency inherent in neoliberalism towards eliminating any difference between the social and the economic (Bröckling et al., 2012).

There exists, as described by Peck and Tickell, a popular—and, on occasion, scholarly—tendency to conceptualise neoliberalism as involving the 'roll back' of the government, with market solutions replacing the government's role in the social (Peck & Tickell, 2012). However, an important and critically useful aspect of the governmentality view of neoliberalism is the ways in which it illuminates that the state is still heavily involved in governing, even though there may appear to be 'less government' (Larner, 2000, p. 12).

By looking at mechanisms implemented by neoliberal governments such as privatisation and responsibilisation agendas as technologies of government, we see the ways in which government remains heavily involved despite a supposed retreat from direct participation. The introduction of market-driven solutions should, therefore, be interpreted not as a diminishing or reduction of state sovereignty but as a restructuring of governmental techniques; not as a replacement but a reorientation (Bröckling et al., 2012), or as a rearticulation of relations between state and non-state actors (Lea & Stenson, 2007, p. 10). Neoliberalism may problematise the state and its interventions, but it does not do away with the state (Larner, 2000), and even involves the innovation of *new* state interventions, such as in the realm of security (Lea & Stenson, 2007) and finding new ways to indirectly guide the conduct of individuals (Lemke, 2001).

Particularly relevant to my focus throughout this thesis is the relationship between neoliberal governmentality and the provision of welfare—including subsidised housing. Foucault argues that the neoliberal rationality involves only 'one true and fundamental social policy: economic growth' (Foucault, 2004a, p. 144). Neoliberal rationality posits that the 'negative tax' (that is, the payment of welfare benefits) should not be paid with any kind of 'redistributive' intentions—it should aim only to address the *effects*, not the cause, of poverty (Foucault, 2004a, p. 204). State intervention does not entirely disappear but rather is recast, driven by new discourses around the responsible individual, operating according to market logic and is privatised in whole or part (Lea & Stenson, 2007). Welfare and social housing provision emerges, then, as a necessary ameliorative policy to address the shortcomings of those in society who are unable to perform 'responsible' citizenship, and has as its focus the reform of individuals, rather than any attempt to redress structural inequalities. Further, housing assistance is deployed in ways that, perhaps counter-intuitively, serve to reinforce the market as the norm and bolster the private provision of housing (Blandy, 2013; Cowan, 2005; Dufty-Jones, 2017; Flint, 2003; Flint & Rowlands, 2003).

2.3 The governmental state

Foucault's work undermines the notion of the state as the 'origin, animator, beneficiary and terminal point' of power (Rose, O'Malley, & Valverde, 2006, p. 86). He was concerned by our tendency to talk about 'the state' or 'the government' as a 'thing'—a single institution, a monolithic and coherent entity. Instead, he suggests, we should understand governmental regimes as dispersed—refuting the notion that the state is a universal or autonomous source of power: 'the state has no heart, it has no interior' (Foucault, 2004a, p. 77). Consistent with Foucault's understanding of power, we can conceive of

governmental regimes as diffuse and dispersed, rather than coherent and concentrated.

The governmental state is, argues Foucault, 'nothing else but the mobile effect of a regime of multiple governmentalities' (Foucault, 2004a, p. 77). That is, the state is a product of governmentalities, rationalities and regimes of truth that bring it into being. The state is not a pre-existing entity, it has no inherent qualities and has no essence (Gordon, 1991).

Foucault notes that by describing the state in this way he does not mean to diminish the importance of the state (Foucault, 1988, p. 73). Indeed, he notes elsewhere that the state is 'not simply one of the forms of the exercise of power' but has a privileged place as 'all other forms of power must refer to it' (Foucault, 1982, p. 793). The state is not, however, *the* source of power, but occupies a privileged position because 'power relations have come more and more under state control' (Foucault, 1982, p. 793)—that is, all other relations have become increasingly rationalised through governmentalities.

Bevir notes, however, that governmentality scholars have tended to rely on an understanding of the state that is monolithic and often appears reluctant to recognise human agency (2011, p. 462). This, however, appears to be at odds with Foucault's conceptualisation of the state and agency, which emphasises the role that individual subjects play in 'fashion[ing] themselves' (2011, p. 462). Like Bevir, I think this monolithic understanding of the state and neglect of human agency is not a necessary feature of governmentality analysis—indeed, I see it as antithetical to the broader intention of governmentality analyses. Throughout this thesis, I attempt to centre an understanding of the state that is contingent, resisted, and constantly in flux, and to centre human agency and the capacity of subjects to shape themselves and the things around them.

The conceptualisation of the state that is brought through a governmentality approach is relevant to my focus on resisting neoliberalism. Through focusing on the ways in which the state is not a thing to be resisted but rather an effect of multiple technologies, strategies and discursive regimes, we can come to see how resistance is complicated by the very nature of the power it is opposing. The governmentality lens also emphasises the ways in which government and neoliberalism is contingent and tenuous (Larner, 2000)—a useful orientation for a focus on resistance, opening as it does possibilities for things to be otherwise.

2.4 Power and resistance

Power, for Foucault, is everywhere. Power is 'always already there', and one can never be 'outside' power (Foucault, 1988, p. 141). It is distributed through a 'net-like organisation' and is the force behind every social relation (1988, p. 98). Subjects are created by power relations—there are no pre-existing subjects that have 'human natures' nor natural states upon which power relations act; rather, these are the products of power relations.

2.4.1 Power as transformative capacity

Foucault draws upon a conception of power that was productive, rather than repressive (Foucault, 2002b). He argues that power should not be seen as a force that says 'no', but rather one which produces things: effects, subjectivities, actions (Foucault, 2002b, p. 120). His interest in power's capacity to produce particular forms of actions and behaviour led him to focus in particular on governmentality as the 'conduct of conduct'—that is, governance as a process which, through structuring the field of possible actions of others (Foucault, 1982, p. 790), elicits particular kinds of actions from subjects without force. He sees governmental forms of rule as governing not through repression and prohibition—as was the case with sovereign forms of rule—but which use the liberties and capacities of the governed as mechanisms for governing. That is, (neo)liberalism governs through, not against, the freedoms of the governed (Foucault, 2004a): rather than suppressing the agency of individuals, neoliberal governmentalities involve guiding individual conduct towards particular ends.

A key departure from other theories of power is perhaps that, for Foucault, power functions as a verb rather than a noun: it is conceptualised as an action or a capacity, rather than a structure. Heller (1996) argues that Foucault came to see power (and resistance) as a capacity—as the ability to create social change. This conceptualisation has implications for the type of questions it gives rise to: for Foucault, argue Kendall and Wickham (1999), the most relevant question is not asking *what* power is but rather *how* it works. Heller also notes that Foucault did not imbue this transformative capacity with any kind of value judgement: power (and so, too, resistance) is neither essentially good nor bad, as it is simply a capacity (Heller, 1996).

Power, for Foucault, is defined as actions on others' actions, and in this way it *presupposes*, rather than annuls, subjects' capacity as agents (Gordon, 1991, p. 5). But this is not to say that Foucault dismisses the role of structure: subjects are situated in subject

positions that determine their access to the techniques of power, but no subject is entirely devoid of power nor completely trapped in their subject position. A criticism of Foucault's conception of power is that it does not appear to reflect the reality of an unequal distribution of power (see Heller (1996) for more on this): if all subjects are vehicles of power and constantly exercising it, so the criticism goes, how do we account for the fact that certain subjects appear to enjoy less agency than others?

This is likely based on a misconception of what Foucault means by the ubiquity of power. When Foucault says that power is everywhere and subjects are its 'vehicles' (Foucault, 1988, p. 98), he does not mean to imply, Heller argues, that all subjects are *equal* vehicles for power nor that they each have equal access to the techniques of power (Heller, 1996). Instead, he acknowledges that inequalities in power distribution exist, noting that some subject positions may be more powerful than others (that is, some positions may have greater access to the exercise of the techniques of power than others).

Working with Foucault's conception of power as productive, we see that power is not something that blocks or represses knowledge (Foucault, 1988).

'Truth' for Foucault refers not to a universal truth, but to the way that knowledge is produced; that is, the 'network of statements' that make certain things *sayable as true* (Foucault, 1988, p. 132). Foucault is not interested in 'truth' in terms of the content of statements, but rather as a question of 'what governs statements', the ways in which statements govern each other and come to constitute a set of propositions that are acceptable as 'true' (Foucault, 1988, p. 112). It involves a focus on the way that particular things are problematised—that is, the ways in which certain things, people, ideas and processes are constructed as problems in need of (policy) solutions.

2.4.2 Where there is power, there is (the possibility of) resistance

Although he explicitly discussed resistance far less frequently than he addressed questions of power, resistance retained a central place within Foucault's analytics.

Heller argues that Foucault saw power and resistance as two forms of the same thing (Heller, 1996, p. 99). Foucault saw both power and resistance as being *transformative capacity*, differing only as they are exercised by subjects occupying different subject positions: power is 'most often' exercised by those in subject positions with more techniques of power at their disposal, and resistance by those with fewer techniques of power available to them (Heller, 1996, p. 99).

Heller argues that the line drawn between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic subject positions can always be contested (Heller, 1996)—and that no exercise of power is ever inherently either one or the other, but that the act of classification, though imperfect, is necessary and useful for conducting analysis. Foucault argues that resistance is a potential response to *every* exercise of power—the opposite (though certainly not always equal) force responding to every power relation: as soon as there is a power relation, there is 'the possibility of resistance' (Foucault, 1989, p. 153). Power and resistance, then, are useful distinctions as analytical categories, for helping us to understand varied practices of power, but should not be understood as fundamentally different forces.

While Foucault relies on a conceptualisation of power and resistance as the same *type* of force, he did not conceive of these forces as indistinguishable nor did he fail to see that power and resistance can have different effects (Heller, 1996). A subject's position has importance for the techniques and effects of power. An example of this is the privileged position that Foucault argues is held by the state in contemporary society. He notes that the power wielded by the state has, in modern society, particular effects that are worthy of special consideration (Foucault, 1982). He stresses that state power is privileged not because all forms of power are derived from the state, but because they must refer to it, given that social relations have come more and more under state control (Foucault, 1982).

As touched on above, a key point of contention regarding Foucault's ideas on resistance relates to his conception of power as 'everywhere' (Heller, 1996). Scholars have seen Foucault's formulation of power as paralysing—if power is everywhere, how can there be resistance or liberation? Heller (1996) argues that these criticisms rely on a fundamental misunderstanding of what power is for Foucault. Foucault argues that he did not believe that power's unavoidability meant that it was an 'inescapable form of domination' or an 'absolute privilege' on the side of the state (Foucault, 1988, p. 141)—he does not mean that the presence of power precludes resistance, and he explicitly argues that power's omnipresence does not mean that subjects are trapped or 'condemned to defeat' (Foucault, 1988, p. 142). Rather, Foucault means that power is *always already* in existence—it pre-exists subjects and produces particular kinds of subjectivities, including 'free' subjects. Heller reminds us that Foucault sees power as the capacity to create social change: it is productive, creative and neither inherently positive or negative (Heller, 1996). Using this conception of power, we see that 'power is everywhere' does not mean that each subject is trapped in some immutable hegemonic web, but rather that every subject is produced by power and that every social relation is a relation of power. Power being inescapable does not mean *hegemony* is inescapable. Crucial to Foucault's work is the notion that power is not the antithesis of freedom and agency within liberal

governmentalities, but rather pre-supposes it (McKee, 2009a).

A final aspect that helps clarify Foucault's perspective on resistance is an understanding that Foucault did not necessarily see resistance as entailing liberation from an oppressor. This conceptualisation is a key point of departure from Marxist conceptualisations of resistance. The Foucauldian approach sees resistance as an articulation or invention of alternatives to current governing practices (McKee, 2009a).

A specific Foucauldian conception of resistance is 'counter-conduct'. Counter-conduct emerged within Foucault's series of lectures *Security, Territory, Population* (Foucault, 2004b) at the College de France in which he explores government as the conduct of conduct, among other themes. Counter-conduct emerges in this work as a means of conceptualising resistance directed towards a form of power that conducts, rather than oppresses. Movements of counter-conduct have as their objective 'wanting to be conducted differently, towards other objectives…through other procedures and methods' (Foucault, 2004b, p. 195). This specific understanding of resistance, then, is not about global struggle or revolution, it refers instead to specific struggles 'against the processes implemented for conducting others' (Foucault, 2004b, p. 201). Counter-conducts are directed towards forms of power, such as neoliberal governmental power, which are productive and focus on conducting the conduct of subjects. It is a form of resistance specifically directed at government that is not focused on saying 'no', but on guiding subjects to act in particular ways. Counter-conducts involve subjects saying they don't want to be governed *in that way* (Foucault, 2004b, p. 201), and therefore is itself a productive form of resistance that opens possibilities for exploring how things could be otherwise.

2.5 Resistance and governmentality analysis

The governmentality literature does not adequately address responses and resistance to governmental rationalities, technologies and strategies (Lippert & Stenson, 2010; O'Malley et al., 1997; McKee, 2009a). In much of the governmentality studies literature, resistance tends to be treated as something that matters only insofar as it influences the dominant discourse and inspires reform (O'Malley et al., 1997), and there is a tendency to over-rationalise power while downplaying the ability of actors to engage in resistance (Flint, 2002).

References to resistance tend to be 'tagged on' in the discussion sections of studies of governmentalities, which tend to refer merely to the opportunities for or possibilities of resistance (Clarke, 2004, p. 10).

A lack of attendance to resistance is not, however, a *necessary* feature of governmentality work (Rose et al., 2006). O'Malley et al. argue that governmentality work could incorporate recognition of the constitutive role of resistance without any interruption to the positive contributions made by the governmentality literature (O'Malley et al., 1997, p. 513).

O'Malley et al (1997) argue that the lack of attention given to resistance within the governmentality literature is due to a tendency to focus on the discourses of rule, which position contestation as having only a negative role rather than the constitutive role afforded to resistance by Foucault. Scholars tend to present an image of rule that is consistent, coherent and integrated, making it difficult to 'prise apart a space for political intervention' (O'Malley, 1997, p. 513). It is likely inevitable that in analysing, articulating and exploring mentalities of rule we will engage in some degree of reification of projects of government (O'Malley et al., 1997). We cannot—nor should we necessarily aim to—capture a picture of governing mentalities *between* successive rounds of contestation and reiteration, nor should we act as though there are moments of governing that can be identified that occur *outside* the constant and messy process of contestation, resistance, struggle and reiteration. The work of Murray Li (2007, p. 1), for example, draws attention to the 'inevitable gap between what is attempted and what is accomplished' in governing. All power meets resistance—and vice versa—and the struggle between the two is a constant and productive one.

Where resistance and contestation have been an analytical focus in studies of governmentality, this has proved illuminating in understanding how rationalities and technologies are received and resisted. McDonald and Marston, for example, draw attention to 'counter-politics and resistance' (2005, p. 397), looking at how citizens who are welfare recipients refuse to act in the roles that authorities would give them: 'dependant', 'recipient' or 'jobseeker'. In housing studies, Nethercote uses ethnographic methods to examine how the rationalities spelled out in state and federal policy documents around Indigenous housing management in Australia are received and resisted by housing professionals at the local level (2014). She explores how policies are implemented differently in different geographic locations, often as the result of (sometimes unconscious) resistance on the part of local practitioners. Also drawing on ethnographic methods, Dufty (2011) uses a governmentality approach to explore how rural housing experts become targets of technologies of power implemented to reform rural housing.

Ethnographic approaches tend to focus on governing at its point of application—in particular, on marginalised individuals. By focusing on the individuals targeted by policy, ethnographic research can reveal the ways in which subjects can 'accommodate, adapt, contest or resist'

efforts to govern them (McKee, 2009a, p. 479). Governmentality work has displayed a concerning silence on counter discourses such as feminist and postcolonial perspectives (O'Malley et al., 1997). A focus on only the 'serious statements'—those from 'above'—risks rendering invisible these everyday statements where antagonisms and resistances might occur. If we ignore the impacts of rule at the finest grain, looking instead only at rule at the level of governors, we risk overlooking that subjection and governing are not smooth or complete projects, but rather can be internally contradictory, constantly changing and tend to be characterised by 'conflict, contestation and instability' (McKee, 2009a, p. 474). Ethnographic methods are useful in identifying the presence of non-liberal rationalities and understanding how these might interact with or resist neoliberal rationalities (Brady, 2014a). The use of ethnographic data in analysis is not the *only* way to achieve this, but such a focus is nonetheless facilitated by ethnographic research, which tends to encourage a focus on the micro-level at which counter discourses and their intersections with 'serious statements' may be present.

2.6 Governmentality and housing literature

Studies of governmentalities form a 'varied but nevertheless fairly consistent' body of thinking (O'Malley et al., 1997, p. 501). Housing researchers have adopted governmentalities approaches to bring to light the effects of and the rationalities inherent in neoliberal housing policies, with a particular focus on unpacking the ways in which the neoliberal government of housing is made possible.

Here, I use the housing literature to draw out a number of key contributions that scholars using governmentalities approaches have made to our understanding of neoliberal governmental practice.

2.6.1 Empowerment and responsibilisation

'Technologies of the self'—techniques that shape subjectivity and guide individuals to act in particular ways—are a key component of Foucault's thinking on neoliberal governmentality. For Foucault, government is an activity that shapes the field of action, determining a range of possible actions that subjects might take (Foucault, 1982). As an analytical category, technologies of the self have been of interest to housing researchers because they provide a means of understanding the ways in which states and other authorities work to shape housing choices, tenant behaviour, identity, and regulate citizens through their own liberties.

Governmentalities approaches have allowed housing scholars to see the ways in which housing reforms involving empowerment and participation processes require tenants to become involved in *new* relations of power, rather than 'escaping' power relations. McKee (2008b), for example, using Foucault's understanding of power as present in *all* social relations, explores social housing transfer in Glasgow. She identifies how the regulatory framework around the transfer shapes a field of possibilities for tenant actions and decisions that ultimately prohibit tenants from exercising their 'local' knowledge in decision making, requiring them to behave like housing professionals (McKee, 2008b, p. 192), despite claims to be empowering tenants through their participation in governance.

Flint's use of a governmentalities approach allows him to show that increasing the responsibilities of tenants can be both 'empowering and disciplinary in its effects' (Flint, 2004b, p. 896). 'Responsibilisation' refers to the suite of programs and policies that seeks to frame 'agency, autonomy and self-responsibility' as inherent requirements of good citizenship (Flint, 2004b, p. 893) Viewing the responsibilisation agenda in UK housing management as a technology of the self allows Flint to focus on the way that housing authorities govern *through* the conduct of their tenants (2004b). These processes do not in fact *reduce* the amount of governance that occurs but merely redirect the attention of housing professionals to the management of the conduct of tenants, rather than the management of property (2004b, p. 898).

The governmentalities approach encourages an emphasis not on evaluating governance according to its internal logic but rather examining the ways in which government is made possible and produces various effects. Works such as contributions by Flint (2004) and McKee (2011) ask not *how much* participation occurs as a result of these schemes but rather *what effects is that participation intended to produce?*. He argues that, through techniques that mimic private market mechanisms and elicit tenant participation in governance, tenants are encouraged to self-regulate their behaviour to bring themselves in line with the standard of the 'active consumer' and 'responsible' community member (Flint, 2003, p. 619). Similarly, McKee and Cooper (2008) view a 'capacity building' program—the training of tenant representatives in the transfer of social housing to non-government providers—not as an opportunity for tenants to be empowered to move beyond power relations, but as firmly enmeshed within these relations. Viewed through a governmentalities lens, the capacity building process itself appears as a power relation and is used by the housing authority to induct tenants into the 'proper conduct' of a housing professional, 'conditioning tenants to apply their local knowledge within the existing institutional architecture of housing' (McKee & Cooper, 2008, p. 140).

The purpose of applying a governmentality approach to the

empowerment and participation agenda in social housing policy and management is neither to dismiss empowerment as tokenistic nor to put it on a pedestal as the answer to the problems of disadvantaged communities. Rather as Cruikshank notes, the point is to '[hold] the will to empower to the fire not to destroy it or discount it', but to 'bring both its promises and its dangers to light' (1999, p. 125).

A discourse of 'community' has been on the rise within social policy in neoliberal states—a discursive rationality that Rose (2007) refers to as 'ethopolitics'. Thinking around ethopolitics has been a key contribution of the governmentalities approach. Flint, rather than taking for granted the pre-existence of 'community', uses a governmental approach to view 'community' as a *technology* deployed to produce particular identities and to guide conduct (2002, p. 632). Using the notion of a 'community' to which tenants must be responsible, housing governance, he argues, introduces disciplinary techniques (such as good neighbour charters and agreements) that guide tenants towards particular conduct (Flint, 2002).

2.6.2 Expertise

Governmentalities approaches have consistently maintained an interest in the technical aspect of government. A key element of this is the ways in which experts and bureaucrats are involved in neoliberal government.

The governmentalities approach encourages an understanding of state agencies not as coherent and monolithic structures but as diverse and diffuse entities comprised of individual subjects—and within which variation and resistance is possible. When we start from a standpoint of supposing that 'the state does not exist' (Foucault, 2004a, p. 102), we must look at how the state is made to *appear* to exist—including how individuals who work to implement its strategies and technologies are constituted, worked upon, and resisted. This encourages a nuanced approach to studying policy and management professionals, such as housing professionals and bureaucrats.

Dufty (2011), for example, looks at how housing professionals are not merely instruments for implementing housing policy reforms but can also be subject to policy reforms themselves. Looking at staff of the state housing department in NSW, Australia, Dufty examines the ways in which these subjects play a role in governing-at-a-distance. Through analysis of research undertaken with housing professionals, she demonstrates that housing professionals have themselves become *targets* of reforms that seek to recentralise housing services in major cities (Dufty, 2011).

Similarly, Nethercote (2015) explores the ways in which professionals

at different levels of government variously understand, mediate and resist Indigenous housing policy reforms, resulting in the uneven application of policy at the local level.

Flint, in looking at the relationship between mothers and family outreach workers, argues that governmentality approaches may sometimes overlook the role of housing and welfare professionals (Flint, 2012). He describes how, contrary to the assumptions of some governmentality analyses, outreach workers do not simply reify policy discourse, reproduce social norms or exert disciplinary power. Instead of assuming a top-down conception of power in these relationships, he argues, a Foucauldian view of power brings to light how the domestic visit is co-produced by the family and the worker (Flint, 2012).

These examples are demonstrative of a nuanced and relational understanding of the power dynamics at play, which may not necessarily be simple or top-down (Flint, 2012), that can be achieved through using a governmentality approach to study housing governance and management.

2.6.3 Private market mechanisms

Governmentality approaches have been used to unpack neoliberalising reforms to social policy. This has been explored by several scholars of housing policy, especially in relation to the increasing use of private market mechanisms in the governance of social housing. Key among mechanisms is the notion of 'choice'. The governmentality approach allows 'choice' to be understood as a *technology* of housing governance rather than as an *outcome* of policy. Cowan and Marsh examine how reforms to housing allocation policies saw social housing allocations transformed from being based on determinations of need to a process oriented around 'consumer choice', mimicking a market system for letting social housing units and transforming social housing tenants into active consumers. (2005). Similarly, Flint (2003) looks at 'choice' as a technology within social housing policy, arguing it has become a means of reframing the provision of welfare around market-like ideas and welfare recipients as consumers.

The privatisation of welfare provision has been a strong theme throughout much of the wider governmentality literature. This has included a focus on the shift towards the management of welfare programs using business principles, including 'technologies of performance'. 'Technologies of performance' refers to policy tools such as performance indicators, performance reviews, 'benchmarking' and quantitative reporting against targets (Dean, 2010).

These technologies of performance have been explored in the housing context. Bullen (2015), for example, explores a marked shift towards privatised, marketised provision of homelessness services, including the use of management processes and performance indicators. Bullen's approach to these tools as technologies of governing—rather than as neutral means of evaluating governing—allows these techniques to emerge as fundamental components of governance reform which are implicated in a shift towards quantitatively-measurable objectives and towards governments 'purchasing a set of agreed results' rather than funding services (Bullen, 2015, p. 228). Using the concept of 'technologies of performance' to understand the stock transfer process in Glasgow, McKee finds that although technologies of performance supposedly parallel a move away from top-down control of operations towards self-assessment and review by organisations, they in fact reify centralised control through the use of punitive interventions for organisations found by external audits to be 'failing' (McKee, 2009b, p. 169). These technologies of performance allow the state to implement contradictory strategies to achieve a simultaneous retention of control while shunning responsibility.

Critical within this process of ushering-in private market mechanisms has been the problematisation of social and public housing. This has constituted another focus for governmentality scholars within housing studies. Governmentality approaches have been used to explore ways in which neoliberal problematisations of social housing tenants construct them as deficient not only in economic capital, but also in symbolic, cultural and social capital (Flint & Rowlands, 2003); and to understand how the individualisation of housing risk is rationalised through a responsibilisation discourse that problematises social housing (Stonehouse, Threlkeld, & Farmer, 2015). Flint (2003) identifies three key rationalities in UK housing policy that contribute to the problematisation of social housing: the normalisation of the moral and responsible owner-occupier, the problematisation of the social housing tenant and the valorisation of markets and active consumption.

A governmentality approach has also allowed scholars to understand how paternalistic policies are rationalised alongside those which individualise risk. Blandy and Hunter (2013) describe how rationalities that valorise and normalise homeownership allow the government to enact seemingly contradictory measures which shift risk to individuals at the same time as protecting them against crisis.

2.6.4 Design and aesthetics

A small number of papers on governmentality and housing are interested in what has been termed by Ghertner as 'aesthetic governmentality' (2010). These writers are interested in the way that

aesthetic judgements are used to guide conduct, establishing standards and expectations for housing, and disciplining those who sit outside of these expectations.

Ghertner (2010), for example, argues that aesthetics have become a key rationality in Delhi's recent 'global city' paradigm, in which the use of aesthetic judgements have become a new way of knowing slums and determining what belongs and does not belong in the global city. Ghertner is interested not in determining whether the aesthetic judgements made are just or unjust, but rather examines the types of knowledge—the ways of knowing—used by decision makers, and how these shift over time (2010). A governmentality approach allows Ghertner to explore how different kinds of knowledge (in this case, aesthetic and statistical) are used in governing.

Lawrence-Zuñiga (2014) focuses on the ways in which aesthetic guidelines within the planning approval process are used to govern outcomes. She explores how matters of taste and 'whiteness' in architecture become governable through the application of design guidelines—a technology that uses aesthetic ways of knowing to encourage conformity with a stylised vision of the 'proper' way to build in a city which aligns with the tastes of white preservationists but runs counter to that of immigrants.

Hollow (2010) addresses spatial governmentality in his paper on the rationality of public housing in the Park Hill estate in Sheffield, England. He examines the way that architecture, design and sociology were drawn upon in designing spaces that were intended to deliver particular social outcomes—that is, the way that space was designed to conduct behaviour and social interaction towards particular ends. Similarly, Marquardt et al. (2013) look at new-build luxury housing in Berlin not only as an *outcome* of conceptions of urbanity but as tools *shaping* ideas of urbanity. They argue that these luxury developments are not simply neutral outputs of a transformed, gentrifying city, but are instruments that shape the 'field of actions' to 'alter the look of urban spaces, their usages and our imagination of the city' (2013, p. 1541).

Scholars, including Brady (2014b), have argued that a weakness of governmentality work on social policy is its focus on discourse. This is, I believe, premised upon a narrow conceptualisation of what counts as 'discourse'. The papers mentioned here on aesthetic governmentality provide prime examples of the ways in which discourse, and the understanding of discourse in studies of governmentalities, is more than solely linguistic—it is aesthetic and architectural, and can have built and visual aspects, among many other forms.

2.6.5 Space and mobility

Housing governmentalities have also garnered attention from geographers. Foucault argued that spatial factors are enmeshed in processes of power (Foucault, 1988), and human geographers have accordingly made use of Foucault's work.

Dufty-Jones's (2017) historical geography of housing crisis in Australia examines the housing crisis which followed WWII with a view to understanding how governmental responses to such crises involve problematising particular people and places. She notes how a rationality that saw poverty as the result of environmental factors (rather than personal failings) led to the problematisation of two key aspects of Australia's housing in the 1940s: the contribution of poor quality housing to negative health and social outcomes—particularly in the cities, where slums were thought to be contributing to poor health—and the 'drift to the cities' occurring as a result of poor distribution of housing in rural areas (2017, p. 8).

Approaching mobility not as an *outcome* of policy but as a key part of neoliberal rationality, Dufty brings to light how mobility is used to guide conduct and to legitimise particular policy responses. Dufty (2007) describes how 'immobility' has been used by the Australian Government to problematise public housing. The neoliberal rationality of the Australian Government frames the responsible and entrepreneurial subject as mobile and locationally flexible (in addition to being economically rational), moving to where employment opportunities are maximised (Dufty, 2007; Dufty-Jones, 2015). In this way, economic and social decline in rural Australia is not the consequence of reforms that led to the consolidation of economic activity in cities, but arises from the failure of subjects in these areas to adapt through mobile responses to decline (Dufty, 2007).

2.6.6 Resistance

Despite these strengths of governmentality approaches, there exists a paucity of work focused on understanding how governmentalities and associated technologies and rationalities related to housing are met with critical responses and resistance (Lippert & Stenson, 2010; McKee, 2009a). Nethercote's (2014) attention to resistance to neoliberal housing policy is relatively rare among papers on governmentality and housing. It has been said that the governmentality literature does not adequately address responses and resistance to governmental rationalities, technologies and strategies. Resistance only ever appears as an afterthought in most of the papers mentioned here, tagged on after a paper's central arguments are made, perhaps as a means of saying 'there's hope yet!'. However, an analytics of governmentality should be interested in 'examining the

points at which regimes of government meet forms of resistance that reveal possibilities for doing things otherwise' (Dean, 2010, p. 37). A more thorough analysis of how people respond to, adopt and/or resist governmental rationalities would help advance understandings of how these actually work in practice, and how and where resistance to dominant housing rationalities is likely and possible.

Of course, some might charge that studies of governmentalities should be focused on governing mentalities, rather than those of the governed. However, the mentalities of the governed, and their responses and resistance to governing rationalities, technologies and strategies, are relevant to understanding how and whether governmentalities realise their effects. Instances where attention is paid to resistance, such as Nethercote's papers (Nethercote, 2014, 2015), demonstrate the significant opportunity that exists in using governmentality to look for resistance.

2.7 A governmentalities approach to studying housing redevelopment and resistance

Throughout this thesis, I adopt a governmentality approach to study both the government of and resistance towards the redevelopment of Waterloo.

I intend to demonstrate throughout that governmentality, and its associated Foucauldian conceptualisations of power, technologies, subjectivities, knowledge and discourse, is a useful lens for viewing not just neoliberal government but also resistance to this government. Within this, I explore a range of critical orientations to undertaking studies of governmentality. I adopt and rework Dean's (2010) analytics of government and Death's (2010) analytics of protest. I explore the potential of 'counter-conduct' for understanding the practice of resistance. I consider how technologies of citizenship operate to advance governmental objectives and how this interacts with resistance. And finally, I undertake a Foucauldian critique of a theatre performance, exploring how government, power and resistance are conceptualised within this performative space of resistance.

Following Murray Li, I note that this approach—combining analysis of governmental interventions with analysis of 'what happens when those interventions become entangled with the processes they would regulate and improve' (2007, p. 27)—takes me into the 'witches' brew': the difficult-to-describe processes, practices and struggles that are not neatly captured or easily identified. I embrace this messiness here,

and do not seek to 'grasp all things at once' but rather hope that by attending to a particular place and set of experiences, I can 'better grasp how power is lived, produced and contested' (Murray Li, 2007, p. 28).

Foucauldian approaches tend to involve an *orientation* towards things, rather than a specific methodological approach to be followed. In the next chapter, I step through my approach to undertaking governmentalities research, outlining the methods I used to understand the redevelopment of Waterloo.

Chapter 3. Methodology

Studies of governmentality, though not explicitly associated with a specific methodological approach, have tended to be characterised by a focus on exploring the 'textually recorded programmes and representations' of governmental practice (O'Malley et al., 1997, p. 502). This reflects a tendency to focus, mentioned in the previous chapter, on the mentalities and practices of rule, rather than those of resistance.

In this research, I set out with an intention to focus on resistance, as well as government. In order to do so, I needed to look beyond textual data, to engage with the (rarely-documented) discourses and practices of those practicing resistance.

Ethnographic work on life in neoliberal contexts has been growing over the last several decades: Hoffman, DeHart and Collier describe an 'explosion' of interest in ethnographies of neoliberalism within anthropology (Hoffman, DeHart, & Collier, 2006)—the 'home' discipline of ethnographic methods. Rather than claiming here to have conducted 'an ethnography', I describe my approach as making use of *ethnographic methods*. I acknowledge that an ethnography is a specific methodological approach that is broader than simply adopting a particular method for research. However, participant observation, which is my primary research method, is almost universally acknowledged by scholars to be a—if not *the*—key ethnographic research approach (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011), and so I use the term 'ethnographic methods' to describe my approach here.

The approach I took towards conducting ethnographic research throughout this project aligns with what has been termed in social movement studies 'scholar-activism'. 'Scholar-activism' refers to scholarship that does not merely study activism but that gets involved in the practice of activism as part of scholarship. Throughout my research, I did not merely observe activism that was taking place, I participated in it: I assisted whenever I could, providing another set of hands but also using my skills as a researcher, writer and a former-government employee to help the residents of Waterloo navigate the tricky waters of government planning policy and consultation processes. I spent hundreds of hours with the residents of Waterloo, in meetings, at events, volunteering and spending time informally

with residents.

Gillan and Pickerill argue that the practice of scholar-activism is a 'growing trend' amongst scholars (2012, p. 135). While I'm sure that the growing number of scholars participating in activism have varied motivations for doing so, for me—and I suspect for many others—the decision to do so was driven in part by my frustration with the lack of attention paid to the outputs of scholarly work by those in power. That is, I was motivated in part by a feeling that I needed to take action 'outside' the academic realm. Of course, there were other reasons, too: I was driven by a desire to make sure that I was 'giving back' in some way to those who participated in my research—that I was not merely *extracting* data from them but was also contributing something to their lives and causes; by a drive to help the vulnerable people that my research focuses on; by a genuine sympathy and political alignment with the tenants' cause; and by a sense that my understanding of resistance could be enriched through participation in that same resistance.

Routledge and Derickson argue that scholar-activists seek to create alignment between their academic pursuits and their political ideals (Routledge & Derickson, 2015). I would argue, however, that this is about more than just 'alignment', it is about *practicing* the political ideals that academics aspire to in their work.

For me, in Waterloo, this meant not merely writing about the impact of the redevelopment and the residents' efforts to resist it, it meant participating in their efforts to resist. As I discuss throughout this chapter, this was not necessarily an easy task, and finding ways to practice scholar-activism ethically and responsibly on 'both sides of the hyphen' (as Routledge and Derickson (2015, p. 391) put it) was not always easy.

As I will discuss in more detail later in this chapter, what I have undertaken here is far from what might be considered a linear, replicable research process. Contrary to more traditional approaches to describing research methods, I will not claim to have developed a research design which was then neatly implemented, analysed then written up. My approach was iterative, non-linear, reflexive. My research design evolved as needed, in response to the context in which I was working. My analysis proceeded as I observed and engaged with the events at Waterloo. Traditionally, in the social sciences, we keep 'data' out of the introductory chapters such as the methodology section, implying some kind of purity of research design, as though our method could remain untainted or unchanged by our experiences in the field. Contrary to this approach, I bring discussion of my data into this chapter in recognition that my fieldwork inextricably influenced and also complicated my fieldwork, both in practical and ethical terms.

In this chapter, I outline the methodological approach that I practiced throughout this research project. I will first discuss the practice of ethnographic methods in governmentality research. In the previous chapter I outlined the fundamental aspects of a governmentality approach and my reasons for adopting the approach in this thesis. The use of ethnographic methods to explore governmentality has been the subject of some contention in the literature, as I discuss. Given my focus on resistance, the adoption of ethnographic methods was almost a necessity, given that very little tends to be documented about resistance efforts. The use of participant observation, as I describe, allowed me to follow resistance as a *process*—not as a static or singular event but as a dynamic and changing project that encountered constant challenges.

3.1 Ethnography and governmentality

Though precedent exists for the use of ethnographic methods in Foucauldian-inspired scholarship—as exemplified by contributors to Brady and Lippert's edited collection (Brady & Lippert, 2016), as well as by several housing scholars including McKee (2007; 2008a; 2008b; 2009b; 2011; 2015), Nethercote (2014; 2015), Flint (2002; 2003; 2004a; 2004b; 2012) and Dufty-Jones (2007; 2011; 2012; 2015; 2017) among others—there has been some contention in the literature regarding the use of these methods. In this section, I will outline my stance on this debate, as well as articulating the spirit in which I undertake an ethnographic approach to studying governmentalities.

Earlier works in governmentality studies were characterised by an emphasis on analysis of policy documents. In the last decade, however, governmentality studies has seen a proliferation of ethnographic methods. This has given rise to a debate in the literature around whether ethnographic methods are appropriate for studying governmentalities. In particular, these debates have focused on whether text-based or ethnographic methods can claim a more privileged view of practices.

Scholars advocating the use of ethnographic approaches argue that text-based approaches have a number of shortcomings that can be resolved through the use of ethnographic methods. Brady, for example, claims that text-based approaches lead to 'cookie-cutter' studies (2014a, p. 14) that deal with neoliberalism as if it were 'singular, clear and settled' (2014a, p. 24). Brady is far from being the only scholar to make such claims: Clarke claims text-centred approaches to governmentality have been 'relatively abstract' (2008, p. 15); Stenson claims that governmentality studies have an 'over-

reliance on archives and policy texts as evidence for the existence and effects of liberal mentalities' (2008, p. 5); Lippert and Stenson argue that governmentality works tend to imply that governance is 'seamless' rather than 'tentative and politically contested' (2010, p. 481); and, within housing studies, Nethercote claims that text-based analyses of governmentality risk 'conceptualising housing policy as seamless, logical and strategic' (Nethercote, 2014, p. 1049). Brady argues that, compared to those approaches which exclusively analyse programmatic texts, ethnographic methods give scholars access to 'actual people' located in a 'specific place and time' (M. Brady, 2014a, p. 13).

In response, Dean (2015) argues that Foucault was not interested in claiming that any perspective—historical, ethnographic or otherwise—had better access to the 'real' or the 'actual', as such a claim would suggest that a universal truth exists and that we only need the 'right' methodological lens to be able to uncover it. Such a proposition is 'anathema' to Foucault's project, Dean argues, because Foucault was 'not concerned with gaining access to how things really operate' (Dean, 2015, p. 359) but with how our pictures of reality are produced. Rebutting Brady, he says that 'Foucault is not seeking access to the complexity of everyday life' but rather the ways in which we 'form knowledge of and seek to govern' domains such as 'everyday life' (Dean, 2015, p. 359).

I do not wish to wade into this debate about which methods might be superior in governmentality studies—indeed, as I outline below, I use both text and ethnographic data sources throughout this thesis. I am not particularly interested in claims to finding the 'right' or 'best' data for undertaking governmentality work, as I recognise that work using varied data sources is likely to yield findings that illuminate different aspects of governmental practices. I do believe, however, that where Brady and others go wrong is in looking for permission for the use of these techniques from Foucault.

To be sure, Foucault showed no interest in making use of ethnographic methods himself. However, as Dean argues, this 'does not mean that the ethnographer cannot pursue such problems' (2015, p. 360), but merely that she should not 'give them authorisation from Foucault himself' (2015, p. 359). Dean (2015) is not so much disputing the use of ethnographic methods to study governmentalities as he is refuting the way in which Brady (2014a) justifies her use of these methods by drawing on Foucault's work. Foucault invited scholars to see his work and concepts as a toolbox from which they might borrow and apply with curiosity (Foucault, quoted in O'Farrell (2005)). I approach ethnographies of governmentality not as some 'true' application of Foucault's intentions or as a method that Foucault himself might have deemed important, but as an exercise in curiosity, a means of asking *what comes to light if I look at this through this lens?*

Many of the scholars who have used governmentality approaches within housing studies have incorporated qualitative or ethnographic methodologies. They do so for several reasons: to understand resistance to dominant rationalities and neoliberal governmentalities (Nethercote, 2014); to understand how housing professionals are not just conduits for policy implementation but can also become targets of reform themselves (Dufty, 2011); to look at how 'governable subjects do not necessarily materialise in their anticipated or envisaged form' (McKee, 2011, p. 14); and to uncover the 'variable success of governmental strategies in achieving their objectives' (McKee, 2011, p. 14), to name just a few mentioned in the literature. This work using ethnographic data in conjunction with governmentality approaches has yielded insights into the government—and resistance to this government—of housing in a variety of settings. Nethercote's findings (2014) on local-level resistance to governmentality are developed through interviews with local-level housing professionals, and her use of qualitative methods allows her to understand how it is that neoliberal housing rationalities can fail to achieve their objectives. McKee's use of qualitative methods in her series of papers on the transfer of social housing in Glasgow (2007, 2008b, 2011) allows her to understand the ways in which such processes can be simultaneously liberatory and regulatory, and also simultaneously centralising and decentralising. McKee draws on interviews with tenants and housing professionals who have been involved in the process to understand the effects of the transfer policy, with her ethnographic data providing insights that complicate the story told through analysis of policy discourse.

Ethnographic work in governmentality need not involve rejecting the value of those works focused on text-based data. McDonald and Marston, for example, note that their ability to draw attention to counter-politics and resistance in welfare reform in Australia does not emerge from a methodology that attempts to distinguish between the 'gritty reality' of the unemployed and the mystical 'unreal' rationalities offered through policy (McDonald & Marston, 2005, p. 397). Though using ethnographic data, they make no claim to have access to some more 'real' perspective on welfare reform, noting that their purpose is not 'dispelling myths' and 'speaking truth to power' but rather understanding how categories such as 'the unemployed' are produced and restrained by social relations and practices of governing (McDonald & Marston, 2005, p. 397).

Several housing scholars combine analysis of documents with ethnographic and interview data in governmentality approaches, including Flint (2004b), Nethercote (2014) and McKee (2007). This approach allows comparison between the rationalities and stated objectives of policy documents on one hand and the ways in which rationalities and technologies are received, resisted, subverted and complicated on the other. These approaches also recognise that we can

never see governmental practices 'between' successive implementations, but that they are constantly being implemented, resisted, revised and reworked. Using both text-based and ethnographic data, argue McDonald and Marston, provides insight into how the 'macro rationalities of advanced liberalism' are translated into 'micro practices' (2005, p. 397). Bevir argues that combining text-based approaches with ethnographic work might provide an account of the 'assumptions, knowledge and convictions' embedded in contemporary rule and its aftermath (Bevir, 2011, p. 464).

Throughout this thesis, I use both analysis of programmatic texts and ethnographic data. I adopt this approach because:

1. I am interested in the ways in which citizens respond to and resist neoliberal governmentalities. A focus solely on the text-based data would not allow me to understand how these rationalities, technologies and strategies are received and resisted by subjects; and

2. I am interested in understanding how government of public housing in this context is made possible. A focus solely on the ethnographic data would not allow me to adequately attempt to understand the governing mentalities to which my research participants were responding, which were primarily accessible to me through programmatic texts.

I will now turn to outlining just what my data collection and analysis involved, including some of the challenges I experienced while undertaking it.

3.2 My methods

From an early stage in this research project, I had identified that ethnographic methods would be useful for coming to understand the practices and experiences of the residents of Waterloo. While I planned interviews and document analysis to supplement the ethnographic data I collected, I wanted to observe residents as they planned and implemented action, as they encountered challenges and negotiated stances amongst themselves. I wanted to be present for discussions, to see how various positions were articulated, discussed and challenged. I wanted to follow the process, and observe how things changed (or, did not change) over time. Participant observation allowed me to get involved with the residents over a long period of time, to observe the practice of engaging and resisting. Further, as mentioned earlier, this method also allowed me to contribute my skills, time and knowledge to their cause.

Throughout this section, I discuss the methods I used throughout this project and the challenges that arose while doing so. In addition to the participant observation, I undertook some interviews, though—as I discuss later in this section—I decided to cease interviews after just two, after some consideration of the burden these interviews were placing on participants' time. I also gathered and analysed hundreds of documents from government, activists and community development groups to enrich my understanding of how the government of Waterloo was practiced.

3.2.1 Participant observation

Throughout 2016, I had been occasionally attending public meetings and forums around Waterloo. In order to undertake the ethnographic methods that I intended, I needed to develop a good understanding of the community so that I might plan my observation and involvement. I began to become familiar with the events and people of Waterloo. The number of weekly community events at Waterloo came as a surprise to me. Keeping up with the profusion of forums and meetings and social opportunities was dizzying. Each month, the Neighbourhood Advisory Board meets several times, when all its various sub-committees and working groups are tallied. There are weekly language groups, knitting circles, social morning teas, and art classes, and the monthly RedWatch meeting.[6]

A huge array of scheduled activities and events relating to the redevelopment began to take place in Waterloo beginning in early 2016. The Lord Mayor, Clover Moore, and the State member of Parliament, Jenny Leong, both organised forums for tenants to keep up to date about the redevelopment. The Minister for Social Housing, too, organised several forums for tenants. Around this time, I met Robert,[7] a tenant who had founded the Waterloo Public Housing Action Group. Robert invited me to participate in their group, which had begun meeting weekly.

Keeping up with the profusion of forums and meetings and social opportunities was overwhelming. When I was starting out on this PhD, I lived just a short bicycle ride from Waterloo, and fully expected that I would be at Waterloo almost every day throughout my fieldwork

[6] RedWatch is a local advocacy group concerned with planning issues in Waterloo and surrounding suburbs. I describe its activities and purpose in detail in chapters to come.

[7] 'Robert' is a pseudonym. All Waterloo residents mentioned in this research are given pseudonyms. I have not used pseudonyms for other academics, employees of community groups, and government representatives where they were participating in public meetings in their professional capacity or making public statements about the redevelopment.

to observe this vast array of events. However, just before my fieldwork was to begin, my husband and I found out our rental was being sold and decided to move to a regional city south of Sydney, where we could more easily afford the cost of housing. While this alleviated some financial stress, it did complicate fieldwork in a practical sense. Rather than being a mere 10-minute bike ride from my home, Waterloo was now a 75-minute train journey away, resulting in a door-to-door trip of almost two hours each way.

By early 2017, I had begun to find that the action group meetings were the most interesting of the events occurring at Waterloo. The more official meetings organised by the government and others were useful to attend on occasion to keep up to speed with where the redevelopment process was heading. But often these meetings involved hearing the same messages from politicians and bureaucrats spouted again and again, and so after attending a few, my field notes became repetitive and shorter, reflecting my waning interest in these formulaic events. My interest was turning towards the action group and the other resistance activities taking place on the estate, whose meetings were more urgent and dynamic.

In recognition of the toll that the long journeys were taking on me—and also thanks to a realisation that the enormous amounts of data I had been collecting in my initial weeks of fieldwork would not be manageable in the course of a doctoral program—I began to limit my journeys to Sydney to just a few a week. I attended the weekly action group meetings two or three times a month, and usually would attend one or two other meetings throughout each week. Overall, I attended over 190 hours of meetings and events at Waterloo throughout the period of fieldwork I undertook between November 2016 and February 2018. These included roughly:

- 75 hours of action group meetings
- 20 hours of other community action meetings
- 30 hours of volunteering at the Future Planning Centre (a resident-led initiative to provide a drop-in space for information on the redevelopment)
- 15 hours of Waterloo Redevelopment Group (a sub-committee of the Neighbourhood Advisory Board whose meetings I was invited to attend) meetings
- 15 hours of information sessions held by Government representatives and local elected officials
- 20 hours of consultation sessions and capacity-building workshops.

The remaining in-field hours were comprised of a range of information and engagement sessions, volunteering efforts with local community initiatives, and other one-off meetings.

I also spent between 50-70 hours at social and informal gatherings for which I did not take any notes, though I did record research journal entries when I felt it was warranted. These occasions were largely valuable for building trust and friendships with residents, and for becoming familiar in a more immersive way with the residents, the estate and the impact of the redevelopment.

Finally, there were many events that I attended in early 2016 which informed my understanding of the situation but about which I did not take field notes as I did not, at that stage, have approval from the University's Human Research Ethics Committee. I also attended meetings on occasion in 2018 to keep up to date with events as they evolved in Waterloo, though I had drawn a line under my fieldwork by this stage.

Field notes, research journal and ethics

Throughout my fieldwork, I would take rough jottings during meetings and events, attempting to capture what was said by participants—key quotes and phrases, as well as the general mood, sentiments, and themes discussed. The train ride home from Waterloo provided useful time to transform these jottings into more useful field notes, and I would usually spend a good portion of the journey home typing up my short bullet points into more legible and coherent field notes. I generally typed these field notes as entries directly into NVivo, including in them a short description of the events observed, including the location and time, the nature of the event, how many people were present and other details as seemed salient.

The field notes that I draw upon throughout this thesis are of course not direct transcriptions of the conversations that took place in the meetings. Though I took pains to attempt to record discussions accurately, I could not take notes as quickly as the conversation moved. At times, I avoided the temptation to write continuously, as I felt uncomfortable with sitting in the corner, head bent over my notebook, madly scrabbling down the conversation taking place. Further, in the action group meetings, I could not necessarily be writing constantly because I was often engaged in the discussion. As I discuss in the following section, I was not a silent observer but at times an active participant in the events.

The field notes that I draw upon throughout the thesis are, therefore, only my best efforts to capture what tenants said. I may have at times paraphrased statements made by participants. I feel confident that my field notes captured enough details of conversations that I am not taking undue liberties with attributing ideas and phrases to them. My

habit of writing my field notes on the train home after meetings was a deliberate effort to capture the notes while the events and discussions were still fresh in my mind.

After these fieldwork sessions, I would often also write research journal entries, sometimes immediately after writing up the field notes, though sometimes later in the day when I had time to reflect on the events that I had witnessed.

My research journal, kept as a series of memos in NVivo, was not something that I wrote in as a matter of routine, although I did try to have some regularity in making entries following fieldwork. Often, these recorded my own responses to the events I had observed—my frustrations and emotions, my reflections and concerns. Though, of course, my field notes also capture many of my own emotions and frustrations, my research journal entries are more focused on my own reactions than are the field notes. The research journal entries also catalogue my struggles and thoughts on broader questions relating to the PhD, and so vary in content more widely than my field notes. Throughout the analysis described in this thesis, I draw more heavily upon the field notes than the research journal entries, as they more clearly attempt to describe what happened. At times, however, I draw on my research journal to illustrate my responses to these events.

My ethics approval granted me permission to seek passive consent from participants to observe meetings and take field notes, provided that I anonymise all that I recorded. This involved iterating the nature of my research project at the beginning of meetings. After doing this a few times, the action group members, who had heard me do this on multiple occasions, shushed me, unconcerned by the details and seemingly quite happy to have me there, preferring not to listen to me outline my project again. I made my best effort to ensure that participants were aware that I was observing meetings and events, but recognise that there may have been people present who were not fully informed about my research.

At times, such as in big public events and forums, it was not possible or practicable to seek passive consent. On these occasions, I took a few rough notes, avoiding taking down direct quotes from community members or recording anything that might be potentially re-identifiable. I then transformed these into field notes that tended to be a little less specific than those field notes taken on occasions when I felt confident that I had attained passive consent. In these notes I did not record quotes or conversations but rather made general notes that served primarily to prompt my memory at later dates about key discussion points, announcements and themes.

Overall, I attended over 100 hours of meetings and events at Waterloo for which I received passive consent and recorded field notes. I

attended an additional 90 hours of meetings and events for which I did not receive consent as described above, and recorded less detailed notes for these.

There were also social and informal gatherings for which I did not take any notes but recorded research journal entries when I felt it was warranted. These occasions were largely valuable for building trust and friendships with residents, for becoming familiar with the residents, the estate and the impact of the redevelopment. I did not take any notes while at these events as I felt that the presence of my notebook might change the relationships I was building with tenants, and that it might make my presence feel entirely transactional—as though I was only attending these social occasions to gather data.

For a three-month period, I also volunteered for four hours per week in the Future Planning Centre—a drop-in space organised by the resident action group, which I will discuss in more detail later. This usually comprised a shift in which I would chat with another volunteer (usually a resident of the estate), and make tea and chat with the occasional visitor to the space. It was not practical to gain consent from the tenants who would wander in and out of the space while I was volunteering there, so I didn't record notes from these sessions. However, I often made research journal entries on my train journey home whenever something occurred that I wanted to remember, keeping these entirely anonymous so that no community members might be re-identified through my data.

The names that I use throughout this thesis for Waterloo residents are not the tenants' real names. I realise that it will still be fairly easy to recognise many of the individuals due to their roles within the community being identifiable (for example, though Robert's name is anonymised, his position as action group leader likely makes him easily identifiable for anyone familiar with the community). This was an issue I have wrestled with throughout the writing process, especially when I talk about contentious or problematic behaviour. But I have found it impossible to relate this narrative without referring to people in terms of the positions they held. I have done my best to refrain from identifying people's positions within the community in order to make them anonymous, but I recognise that there may be instances where it is possible to identify individuals.

3.2.2 Interviews

In my ethics application, I asked for approval to conduct interviews with residents to hear their perspectives on the redevelopment project. I planned to conduct interviews with at least a dozen residents, doing follow-up interviews with some participants to explore how their perspectives might have changed over time. When I

began my fieldwork, I planned to do several months of observation before approaching residents to request interviews, as I expected this would give me time to build trusting relationships with tenants, and also that this time would help inform the focus of the interviews.

In early 2017, I met with two other PhD students, Pratichi and Alistair, who had also been attending the weekly action group meetings. We were aware that we were all conducting doctoral research and using Waterloo as a case study, and had often sat in the same meetings. We met to discuss our projects and determine if there was any potential overlap, as well as opportunities to work together.

We immediately identified a problem: all three of us had plans to interview some of the same residents. Fortunately, Pratichi and Alistair were—as was I—eager to talk about how to resolve the issue of the burden our collective research projects might be placing on tenants. The residents we each planned to ask for interviews were all key members of that action group who we had come to know over the previous months.

The tenant group already had a significant burden placed on them by the redevelopment—not only are they handling the trauma and disruption of having their homes threatened, but they are being asked to participate in all sorts of consultation and engagement. The action group was meeting for two hours every week, and many of the group members were also tenant representatives, so they also were expected to attend Neighbourhood Advisory Board meetings and sub-committee meetings, as well as other regular local events. And on top of these already-packed schedules came all the consultation and engagement surrounding the redevelopment project.

In my discussions with Pratichi and Alistair, we agreed that we would need to try and limit the burden that we placed on people's time. Our initial plan was that we would do this in two ways: firstly, Pratichi and Alistair would do joint interviews with residents. Pratichi and Alistair are studying at the same university, meaning it was relatively easy for them to have ethics approval granted for them to conduct interviews together. They applied for some revisions to their ethics approval and were permitted to interview residents jointly. They developed a set of interview questions that allowed them to both cover key topics relevant to their thesis in a single interview. Though there were similarities between their two topics, their topics were sufficiently different from mine that I could not have easily participated in the joint interview—it would have been quite difficult to cover the breadth of questions the three of us would be interested in, and especially difficult to get the kind of depth of discussion on these topics that we might have wanted.

The second thing we decided to do in order to minimise the burden on

tenant time was to stagger the interviews throughout the year: they would conduct their joint interviews in early- to mid-2017, and I would undertake mine later in the year, so that we were not requesting too much of residents all at once. Alistair and Pratichi interviewed a number of residents in mid-2017.

By late 2017, around the time that I was planning to commence interviews, the Government's consultation process had begun. Residents were being asked to attend meetings and workshops and focus groups. They were being expected to constantly formulate and proffer their opinions and perspectives on a range of issues related to the redevelopment. The burden on residents' time and energy was only growing as the year went on.

Eager to gather resident perspectives, I conducted two interviews—with Robert and with Catriona. The interviews were semi-structured, and covered their views on the redevelopment and the Government's consultation process, as well as their experience of engaging in activism and resistance against the Government's plans. I was largely led by my interviewees in terms of the direction of the discussion, allowing their responses to guide our focus.

I was approaching these interviews carefully, cognisant of the relentless burdens on residents' time. But I really began to rethink my approach when, during my interview with Catriona, she said:

> *I feel like an extinct species, you know, that people are studying me. And looking at me as if [I'm] like one of those poor polar bears struggling out in the ocean. And, probably, we well may be [an extinct species]. [Catriona, interview, 31 October 2017]*

That evening, after the interview, I wrote the following in my research journal:

> *Catriona said something in her interview that really made me think twice about these interviews. She said that she felt like an extinct species, like a polar bear adrift on an ice floe, with all the researchers watching her. And I guess maybe what she meant by that is that everyone's watching but no-one is intervening?*
>
> *I don't think that I can exclude myself from this—she was talking about me as much as anyone when she said that. It really makes me question whether I should be doing these interviews at all. I imagine Catriona isn't the only one who feels like this. Is it really a good idea to be interviewing residents when they're already being asked for so much of their time? [Research journal entry, 31 October 2017]*

Reflecting on Catriona's comment, I decided that I would do no further interviews. I was, after all, gathering an enormous amount of very useful data through my participant observation, and this was proving to be rich information that I could gather without placing an additional burden on people's time. I felt uncomfortable asking more of tenants than they were already giving. Further, I felt that such requests were unnecessary given that I was able to glean so much from the participant observation I had been conducting, through which I was gathering more than enough information to undertake the analysis I describe throughout this thesis.

I recorded and transcribed the interviews for analysis, and did not make any further requests for interviews with tenants.

3.2.3 Documents

My research also involved analysis of texts including policy documents, government reports, brochures, planning documents, newsletters, briefings. I attempted to gather as many documents as I could throughout my observation, using them to draw as comprehensive a picture of the situation as I could possibly manage. Many of these related in particular to Waterloo and the redevelopment, while others related to public housing policy and renewals at a state level.

Government documents included:

- High-level policy documents such as the NSW Government's *Discussion Paper on Social Housing* (NSW Department of Family and Community Services, 2014) and the *Future Directions* (NSW Government, 2016) policy

- Audit reports such as the NSW Audit Office (Audit Office of NSW, 2013; 2018) and the Independent Pricing and Regulatory Tribunal's reports (IPART, 2017) and findings relating to public housing

- Program-specific texts such as PowerPoint presentations, briefings, brochures and website text relating to social housing programs such as Communities Plus, found on Government websites and also through RedWatch's archive

- Texts specific to the Waterloo Metro Station redevelopment, including website text, briefings, community updates and brochures, including from the Urban Growth NSW website and the Sydney Metro website, but also those distributed to residents and others at Waterloo

- Texts specific to the Waterloo estate redevelopment, such as

website text, brochures and newsletters from Urban Growth, the Land and Housing Corporation, and the NSW Department of Family and Community Services

- Texts specific to the consultation and engagement program, including the materials shared with residents as part of the consultation programs, schedules and programs distributed in monthly Waterloo Redevelopment Group meetings, information on the NSW Department of Family and Community Services website relating to the consultation outcomes, options and masterplan

- Press releases relevant to public housing and/or Waterloo

- Local government documents such as press releases, statements, policy documents relevant to Waterloo

- Other texts that I deemed relevant along the way, such as planning documents from past development corporations and previous public housing policy documents.

I also gathered documents from relevant community development organisations, such as:

- Information provided by local community development organisations about the redevelopment project and its implications for residents

- Briefing documents provided during or following capacity building sessions or other community forums.

I gathered media reporting about Waterloo and the redevelopment which was published throughout the duration of this project, but also historical reporting as I came across pieces that provided relevant context for my project.

Finally, with permission, I gathered documents from those engaging in resistance, including:

- Minutes of action group meetings

- Documents prepared as part of actions such as submissions and letters.

I filed these documents in NVivo for analysis.

3.3 Scholar activism?

An advantage of ethnographic methods is that they enable participation in the movements that scholars are studying, encouraging the practice of scholar-activism and allowing researchers to add both to the numbers and skills that make up the campaign's participants (Gillan & Pickerill, 2012, p. 136).

When I first began attending action group meetings in late 2016, I was a quiet group member, speaking up only rarely or when I was directly asked a question. But it did not take long before the group members appeared to have decided that they could trust me, and also that they could do with my help. They realised that, with my background in urban planning and experience working in local government, I often knew much more about particular issues than they did, and could be of use in helping them to understand government processes.

I was not the only 'outsider' who occupied this status as a potentially useful addition to the group. There were several other scholars, including the two other PhD students, Pratichi and Alistair, who were also involved in the group on an ongoing basis. Like me, they too were more familiar with negotiating government processes and interpreting the planning and management speak of government officials than were the residents of Waterloo. Together, we found ourselves becoming active members of the group, finding ways to help and get involved.

At times, this involved providing advice or explanations about policy or government agencies—for example, explaining how the transfer of leases to community housing providers worked, or explaining the relationship between various government agencies involved in the redevelopment. At other times, we undertook tasks and projects on behalf of the group. The ways that the other scholars and I assisted varied between using our capacity as researchers and professionals and our capacity merely as sympathetic citizens—at times, we used our professional expertise, at other times, we were just members of the action group, just another set of hands to help stack chairs or arrange tables. We wrote submissions on behalf of the group, or set up social media accounts and taught action group members how to manage them. We made cups of tea and turned sausages on the barbecue and sold t-shirts and handed out fliers. We volunteered in the Future Planning Centre, asked questions on the action group's behalf in forums and meetings, filed freedom of information requests, attended briefings and forums on relevant topics (for example, I attended a public briefing on a review of rent setting policies for public housing tenancies) and reported back to the group.

I was aware of the power imbalance that existed between us as

scholars and them as public housing tenants. We were supporters of their cause, active in our participation, but we were also occupying subject positions that were inextricably external—mediated by our membership of the academic world. We were salaried (if not, as doctoral students, particularly generously) and highly educated, while many of them had little formal education, poor English skills and had not engaged in waged employment in decades. Our opinions were respected: group members were often eager to hear what we thought, and often quick to take our advice.

While we knew that we could not remain 'neutral' outsiders, we did not want to take over the group, either. We felt that we should provide support when and where we could, but that we should not become the group's driving force. We did not want the tenants' campaign to become *our* campaign—this might risk seeing their priorities co-opted, their voices silenced. After all, one of the major objectives of the action group (as articulated through their petition to the NSW Parliament) was to have residents' voices prioritised in the redevelopment planning, and the other scholars and I wanted our involvement to advance—not undermine—their objectives.

Further, we were aware that our becoming too heavily involved could risk making the action group entirely dependent on us. Chatterton et al. (2010) write of how they ended up 'effectively running' a campaign to prevent the demolition and private redevelopment of a housing estate in Leeds. They write that they fostered such a dependent relationship with the tenants that, after the researchers 'ran out of steam' in their attempts to mobilise tenants, the campaign collapsed (Chatterton et al., 2010, p. 259). In Waterloo, we walked a fine line: we wanted to make sure that we did not appropriate the struggle of residents nor allow them to lean too heavily on us for our help, but we did not want to withhold our assistance, either.

3.3.1 Ethical challenges with scholar-activism

> *Most of the residents left, unfortunately, in the gap between meetings. I think that two two-hour meetings in a row is just too much, especially over dinner time. This meant that it was mostly academics and professionals in the second meeting, having a discussion about the future of Waterloo. This makes me feel extremely uncomfortable. I'm really worried that this is turning into just another bunch of middle-class people coming in to tell the community what is best for them. I think that the idea of a community land trust [the focus of tonight's meeting] sounds really good in principle, but I think without the community there to tell us what they think—or at least to ask questions about it—[this is] a really*

> *problematic process. The academics speaking were assuming that the community would be in favour of community housing providers managing their housing, but that is precisely one of the major concerns of the residents here. [Field notes, participatory masterplanning process meeting, 11 April 2017]*

In the above entry in my field notes, I express concern about the number of non-resident voices in a meeting held on the estate. This was a meeting held as part of an alternative, resident-led masterplan process (which I'll introduce in more detail in the following chapter).

The residents of Waterloo enjoyed support from many locals in their corner of Sydney. This was helped in particular by the involvement of several researchers and architects in the action group, who in turn attracted the support of others through sharing stories of the redevelopment and the residents' experiences with colleagues and friends.

At times, however, the action group and other resident activism felt in danger of being overrun by non-residents. In the meeting I describe above, for example, dozens of local private residents, artists, urban professionals, journalists and scholars had gathered on the estate for this meeting. The meeting was to discuss the possibility of a campaign for a community land trust for Waterloo, as an alternative to the privatisation of land and housing at Waterloo. Two academics knowledgeable about such trusts were presenting. Very few residents—perhaps fewer than five—remained, in a meeting with around 30 attendees. The community land trust proposal that the academics put forward to the group relied upon public housing being transferred to community housing providers. The transfer of housing to community providers is something that—as I knew from attending many meetings with them—many tenants are opposed to. I found it particularly problematic that this was being suggested as part of a 'resident-led' solution in the absence of tenant input. I felt some responsibility to speak up, knowing that the make-up of the room probably made this an intimidating space for tenants to speak up.

> *I couldn't sit quietly while they were talking about transfer to community providers, I was just so uncomfortable listening to them talk about it. They [the academics] seemed clueless about the residents' perspectives on this. I spoke up—when there was an opportunity for questions and comments, I said that I know residents aren't necessarily comfortable with the transfer to community providers. I said that I think we should only sit here and talk about a campaign to transfer them to new landlords if residents are present to participate in the conversation. Louise [one of the academics presenting] responded, saying, 'I think that a*

> *community-led land trust will be better than the wholesale privatisation that the government is proposing. At least then the community will get something out of this process'. I couldn't help but wonder 'which community?' [Field notes, participatory masterplanning process meeting, 11 April 2017]*

I bring up this example for two reasons. The first is to highlight, as I have above, my concern with the profusion of non-tenant actors (myself included) within the resistance. While the support of outsiders was obviously valuable to tenants, I was concerned that the tenant action risked being over-taken by non-tenants, and that their priorities would be appropriated by those who might have different interests to their own.

The second reason I raise this incident is to highlight the difficult role I adopted as a participant observer at Waterloo, and the challenging questions that scholar-activism gives rise to. In situations like this, I felt bound to speak up, to intervene on the tenants' behalf. In my fieldwork in Waterloo, I negotiated a role that was neither that of a passive observer nor of a tenant participant. I was also not quite one of the interlopers—one of those mentioned in the field note excerpt at the beginning of this section—who briefly dropped by but failed to stick around, but was something in between.

As time went on, more situations arose where perhaps our intervention might have been warranted. For example, members of the group often misunderstood communications about policy and regulation, and said things that we, as experts in our fields, knew to be untrue. It was often difficult to know whether we, having broader knowledge about these issues than many of the tenants, should intervene to provide clarification. In the incident that I describe in the following excerpt from my field notes, I chose to attempt to intervene, to dispel a rumour that had been repeated on several occasions about the demolition of a public housing estate in North Sydney:

> *I tried to clarify a point in the minutes on [the transfer of] leases in community housing. Everyone was in a bit of a spin about Artarmon [an estate on Sydney's north shore]. Someone claimed that it is to be demolished. I'm not sure where they got that from—everything I've seen from the Government suggests that Artarmon won't be demolished, but that management will be transferred to a community housing provider. I'm not sure where everyone gets [these rumours] from, but it has the potential to create a lot of fear and confusion. [Field notes, action group meeting, 8 November 2016].*

In this instance, I decided to say something, to prevent this rumour

from being repeated again. I'm not sure how well my point was taken up, but I felt it was important to attempt to clarify things to avoid proliferating unnecessary confusion and concern.

It was often difficult to know whether to speak up, and on many occasions the other scholars and I did not feel it was our place to do so. For example, in my field notes, I recorded a confrontation between Catriona and Robert, two key members of the action group. I discuss the interaction in more detail later in the chapter on counter-conduct, but I want to raise it here to point out the difficulties of negotiating our role as scholars in activism.

In a meeting of the action group, Catriona challenged Robert about the dominance of male voices and the lack of diversity in the voices that claimed to speak for the group. She was concerned that the group was not representative of all tenants, many of whom are women and are from culturally diverse backgrounds. She told Robert that she thought that it would be good if more diverse voices were heard. Robert, in response, was dismissive, saying that he doesn't care what background people are from or what gender they are. I witnessed this interaction and recorded it in my field notes. Three scholars were also there, and we all remembered the incident well enough to discuss it at length later. We were all in agreement with Catriona, concerned by the dominance of one white male voice and by the lack of opportunity for other voices to be heard. We are all feminists, allies, and interested in advancing the causes of minorities and marginalised groups. And yet not one of us intervened, despite us all believing that Catriona had a point.

The reasons we chose not to intervene are multiple and complex. We felt it was not our place, we did not want to appropriate their struggle, we did not want to tell them how to run their action group. Our reluctance to intervene meant that we sat quietly by, taking notes, while diverse voices were silenced. We failed to step in, to use the power we wielded as educated and respected voices within the group to advance the cause of minority group members. And yet I was willing to step in, as mentioned above, to correct a factual inaccuracy.

This example speaks to the challenges of practicing scholar activism. We were not merely acting as scholars, we were not pretending that we could achieve—or even that we wanted to achieve—some kind of neutral, distant observer role. Neither we were merely acting as activists, for we had something else—data, in its various shapes and forms—that was at least partly motivating our involvement.

Our responsibilities, as far as the university's ethics process was concerned, were mostly around making sure that subjects were giving informed consent to participate and ensuring that no harm was done by our research. But what did this mean for harms that might be done

while we researched? That is, for harms that might transpire while we watched, but that we might absolve ourselves of blame for as they were not wreaked by our direct actions? As Gillan and Pickerill note, the 'real ethics' challenges that scholar-activists encounter 'never seem to have a box on the form' in official processes (Gillan & Pickerill, 2012, p. 134). The risk-management approach taken by university ethics boards fails to consider ethics as a process, in which scholars must navigate scenarios where there is no 'clear cut' right choice (Gillan & Pickerill, 2012, p. 135). Instead, the existence of the ethics board invites us to imagine we can plan for and manage risks, and that we will be able to identify straightforward ways of addressing the ethical dilemmas that confront us. For those participating as scholar-activists, it is far more likely that difficult scenarios will pop up without warning, and that few of them will be simply resolved.

I will not pretend here to have resolved any of the challenges I mention. These were challenges that we wrestled with throughout the entire research process, and I did not reach any conclusions as to how to better address these difficulties. I raise them here not with a view to providing an 'answer' about these difficult struggles but to note that ethnographic research is a messy, complicated space and that my entanglements with the data and the subjects that I discuss throughout this thesis do not fit a neat observer/observed binary. Rather than attempting to 'write-out' the messiness of ethnographic research, I am trying to stay with it—to acknowledge the shifting subject positions that the tenants and I negotiated as the other scholars and I undertook our research and activism simultaneously.

3.4 Analysis

An enduring question about the use of Foucault's work in the social sciences is *how do we go about Foucauldian analysis?* I made a case above for the use of ethnographic methods in governmentality studies. But this does not answer the question: what do we do with this data once collected?

Foucault himself was never clear on how to apply his ideas to study the world. Scholars in the secondary Foucauldian literature have been similarly vague. The methodology for analysis in Foucauldian work is 'often left implicit rather than made explicit' (Waitt, 2008, p. 179). Dean (2010), for example, provides a great and useful amount of detail about the *kinds of questions* that we might ask and approaches we might take in doing Foucauldian-inspired work—and studies of governmentality in particular. But he provides little detail about how we might actually undertake such analysis—that is, he does not elucidate the steps we might take to transform the data we have into the arguments we make.

In this section, I discuss the analysis approach I undertook to develop the discussion and arguments that comprise the rest of this thesis.

3.4.1 A 'post-coding' approach to qualitative analysis

Qualitative research and discourse analysis has been characterised by the proliferation and formalisation of coding practices as the primary means of analysis (St. Pierre & Jackson, 2014). This 'mechanical method' (Brinkmann, 2014, p. 720) of analysis tends to treat discourse as raw data 'waiting to be coded', to be counted, entered into statistical computer programs—to be, more often than not, reduced to numbers (St. Pierre & Jackson, 2014, p. 715).

Foucault himself described his work as 'an experiment, more than a system', noting that he adopted 'no recipe, hardly any general method' (Foucault, cited in O'Farrell, 2005, p. 4-3). Foucault's work does not have 'predictive' or 'scientific' value—it is not replicable, it does not establish universalist frameworks that can be picked up and applied elsewhere (O'Farrell, 2005). Coding, then, feels at odds with a Foucauldian approach, as it holds up only in a Cartesian approach to research in which we assume an ontological realism that posits that hidden in the data exist truths about the 'real world' that can be discovered by breaking the data down into ever smaller pieces (St. Pierre & Jackson, 2014).

Though I collected qualitative data and conducted what might be broadly described as discourse analysis, I remain resistant to the idea of 'coding'. While I used coding software—NVivo—throughout my research process, the use that I made of this software might be more usefully thought of as data organisation, and the means I used to arrive at my arguments would not be best characterised as coding.

Thus, a key question plagued me as I began writing this methodological chapter—one articulated by Augustine: 'what does a researcher do if she does not code data?' (2014, p. 748). Or, perhaps more relevant for me here (given that I had already undertaken my analysis by the time I wrote this chapter) is: *how does a researcher describe what she does, if she does not code data?* As St Pierre and Jackson argue, qualitative analysis can be 'so difficult to describe and explain' that we tend to resort to equating qualitative analysis with coding (St. Pierre & Jackson, 2014, p. 715).

For inspiration for how to describe the analysis I had undertaken, I looked to key works in the secondary Foucauldian and governmentality literature. However, in very few Foucauldian papers is the method of *analysis* clearly articulated. Often, data collection is clearly described, but there is, more often than not, a gaping hole

between the description of this data collection and the arguments that follow. I posit that this is because this kind of analysis is—as I have found—a complicated, non-linear and unsystematic process of absorption, reflection, contemplation and writing, and not one that lends itself to easy description.

In one of the few examples that I found of a description of analysis in Foucauldian research, Flanagan describes her method of analysis as taking 'detailed notes of the form, content and documentary context' and then subjecting 'these notes to repeated reconfiguration, ordering them by content, chronology or relevance, and rewriting them as tables, diagrams or narratives, and, ultimately, an argument' (Flanagan, 2017, p. 685). This kind of 'repeated reconfiguration' feels apt to describe my process, which involved turning ideas and information over and again, subjecting them to a series of questions and propositions, rearranging them again to be viewed from a different angle.

I found guidance for describing this immersive, non-linear process in the literature on new materialism and new empiricism. New empiricists such as Elizabeth St. Pierre and Alecia Jackson describe approaches to qualitative data that move beyond coding and towards methods of analysis that feel more aligned with a Foucauldian approach. St. Pierre and Jackson call their approach 'post-coding analysis' and encourage scholars to think of this as non-technique or non-method—it is not neat, tidy, nor contained, it cannot be easily explained, and 'it certainly cannot be replicated' (St. Pierre & Jackson, 2014, p. 717). There is 'no recipe for this kind of analysis'—instead, we must study theory carefully then put it to work on a project (St. Pierre & Jackson, 2014, p. 717).

My analysis did not involve the systematic application of a coding framework. I fully acknowledge that another might look at the same set of data and arrive at an entirely different set of arguments. I explain my method of analysis here not to demonstrate—as may be more traditional—its replicability, but instead to lay out how I arrived at the arguments that fill the remainder of this thesis.

When I was thinking about a particular question—for example, undertaking an analytics of government with regards to social housing in NSW—I did an initial sweep of the data to flag anything that I thought might be particularly relevant to this approach. I drew upon elements of Dean's analytics of government (2010) and Death's analytics of protest (2010) as a framework for analysis. I began reading through the data—field notes, relevant literature, interview transcripts and documents—and 'coding' things that I thought might be relevant under four broad nodes: fields of visibility, forms of knowledge, subjectivities and technologies. I then looked at each of these nodes in turn, beginning by reading, then making notes: writing

annotations in NVivo as well as hand-written notes and longer, reflective pieces written about the case study as well as the literature. I drew diagrams, returned to the data, wrote more notes. I read and re-read the data. I took notes. I mapped ideas. I read literature. I re-read the data, took more notes, re-arranged my notes and reconfigured my maps and diagrams. I began writing to see how the arguments flowed, and then at times I returned to the data, to the diagrams, to my notes, occasionally reworking them. This was iterative and intuitive, rather than systematic. As argued by Waitt, interpretation of discourse in governmentality analyses tends to proceed through an 'absorptive approach' to familiarisation: reading again and again, undertaking an ongoing process of interpretation 'through many cycles and reclassifications' (2008, p. 181).

For the chapters focused on resistance—on counter-conduct (Chapter 9), empowerment (Chapter 10), and creative resistance (Chapter 11)—I began by writing freely about some of the themes that bubbled up while I was undertaking fieldwork. Again, I won't pretend these themes emerged as the result of systematic analysis of the data. Rather, as I engaged with the community week after week, I noticed that certain challenges surfaced and resurfaced, often without resolution. These struck me as critical points of contention, key aspects of resistance and of engagement with governmentalities. They were issues that came up time after time, either mentioned in discussions with residents or that I noted as I observed and participated in events. After writing freely about these themes, I then turned to the data to explore them further. This prompted another series of iterative, reflective, intuitively-led processes of thinking and writing. I turned again and again to the literature, to the data, to my notes, diagrams and maps. As I began writing, this would prompt the need to seek out further literature, documents and to delve further into my field notes and research journal.

The idea of 'writing as inquiry' feels as though it describes my approach to formulating arguments and ideas about the case study and the theory. Writing, argues Augustine, can be an 'analytic stance towards the data' (Augustine, 2014, p. 749), a means of approaching, knowing and understanding things. Writing, for me, was data collection, analysis *and* argument—the field notes and research journal entries that make up a large chunk of my 'data' were written by me. Writing was my way of coming to know and remember what occurred, my means of interpreting it and thinking through it. Qualitative research that relies on coding would treat this *writing as data* as different from *writing as analysis* or *writing as argument*, as a somewhat objective accounting of what happened, but I see them as all part of the same process—all part of my process of coming to know the data.

Writing was, after all, my way of knowing the case: the field notes

which make up a huge portion of my work on this project might be more readily considered 'writing' than might other forms of data such as interview transcripts. As I conducted observations, took notes and wrote field notes, I was identifying themes, addressing them, focusing on certain aspects. My data collection process, involving as it did hundreds of hours of fieldwork, cannot be separated from my analysis. As I observed and participated in events at Waterloo, I was analysing, reflecting, turning questions over in my mind. I was not a 'neutral' observer, not a simple sponge for information that I recorded for later consideration and analysis, but was formulating arguments and understandings, positing ideas to myself, making notes in which I reflected on particular ideas and themes. To pretend that analysis occurred only *after* data was collected would be to dismiss the significant analytical work that occurred during and through the data collection process—and throughout the entire writing process. Writing did not begin *after* analysis—it did not even just occur in conjunction with analysis. Writing field notes and memos was (a large part of) my data collection, just as writing was my analysis and my means of argument. 'Post-coding analysis', argue St. Pierre and Jackson, occurs 'in the middle' of things—without a beginning, middle or end, it occurs everywhere and all the time (St. Pierre & Jackson, 2014, p. 105). I refuse to draw a distinction between the 'collection' and 'analysis' phases of my research, because I don't feel that these phases are appropriate to describe the constant revisiting, analysing, reflecting and 'collecting' process that I undertook. This was not a linear 'collect, analyse, write' process, which St Pierre and Jackson called the 'traditional linear collection>analysis>representation' trajectory (St. Pierre & Jackson, 2014, p. 717). Instead it was an iterative process in which writing often prompted a return to the data, or a search for literature not included in my initial sweep, or for policy documents that I had not previously known existed or thought relevant.

Finally, in analysis, I did not make a distinction between the various types of data that were relevant to this project. That is, I did not see interview data as having more privileged access to 'the real' than written texts (including the literature, or 'secondary sources') or my own field notes. St. Pierre and Jackson ask why, if we were to study prisons, for example, we would privilege interview data over the words of Foucault, relegating the written works on which we draw to the literature review, rather than treating them as data (St. Pierre & Jackson, 2014). Some might argue that written works and theoretical writing should be treated differently to 'empirical' information, making a distinction between this and the 'data' collected for one's research project. But, as Brinkmann notes, it seems unreasonable to describe some material as having greater relevance to the 'empirical world' while other is relegated to the unempirical: after all who, he asks, can claim to have visited the 'unempirical world'? (Brinkmann, 2014, p. 722). Such distinctions between data and the literature only

hold up when one assumes the existence of a 'real' world which is to be interpreted *through* theory. In my empirical chapters, I draw upon the literature as I discuss my field notes, and I reference interview transcripts as I analyse policy documents. Each of these sources I treat as discourse—not as glimpses into an objective 'truth' but as ways of understanding how certain things come to be sayable, thinkable and doable.

3.5 'Doing' governmentality

While undertaking the analysis I described in the previous section, I subjected the data, as I turned it this way and that, to questions informed by my governmentality approach. These were not necessarily applied in a systematic way, but rather were ways of approaching the data that helped me to apply governmentality as a way of seeing.

These questions were informed by my reading of Foucault's original work on governmentality and also the secondary literature, in particular, by scholars such as Dean (2010) and Rose (1999, 2007; 2006). These questions were primarily 'how' questions—following Dean (2010), I proceed with an analysis primarily concerned with 'how' we are governed.

For Foucault, the point of a discourse analysis is not to look at what was said, but at how certain things became sayable as true (Foucault, 1988). What we must do, he argues in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, is tear statements away from their virtual self-evidence, to recognise that statements are not the 'tranquil locus' on the basis of which we might ask other questions, but that these statements themselves pose a whole cluster of questions (Foucault, 2002a, p. 28). The question posed, then, is not merely *what is said* but *according to what rules* has this particular statement been said? And how is it that this statement appeared, rather than another? (Foucault, 2002a, p. 30).

Often, discourse analysis seeks to find what is hidden or implied by discursive constructions. Critical discourse analysis is generally concerned with uncovering how discourse is used by certain actors to promote and pursue certain policy agendas (Jacobs, 2006). This kind of analysis is important and useful for understanding how discourse is deployed to achieve certain means, but it is not quite what I am doing here. A Foucauldian approach, in contrast, looks not for the agendas and ideologies that discourse promotes, but rather looks at what makes particular discursive constructions possible. Rose et al. describe governmentality not as a method 'but a certain ethos of investigation', which is oriented towards a focus not on the *why* but on *how* things happened (2006, p. 101).

The questions that guided my analysis included— described here in no particular order—enquiries relating to:

- **Rationalities**: A key question present in studies of governmentality concerns the ways in which programs of government are articulated in 'broad discourses of rule' or 'political rationalities' (O'Malley et al., 1997, p. 501). This line of enquiry is concerned with questions regarding how government is 'thought into being', how practitioners determine how best to govern, the concepts invented to make subjects governable and the ways in which government constantly reforms itself (O'Malley et al., 1997, p. 502). Here I asked, how is governing these things in this way constituted? How did these things come to be governable? How is resistance to these rationalities constituted? And how did it become possible to resist the governance of these things?

- **Problematisations**: Problematisation refers to the moments when efforts to shape the conduct of others is called into question (Dean, 2010, p. 38)—that is, when the government of something or someone becomes a question to be answered. Bröckling et al (2012) argue that problematisation should be the primary concern of governmentality studies. Here I ask, how are things problematised? What needed to be in place for things to be problematised in this way? What are the effects of this particular problematisation? And, how does resistance problematise these conceptions? How do those practicing resistance problematise these things?

- **Knowledge**: An analysis of governmentality is concerned with the different ways truth is produced in social, cultural and political practices (Dean, 2010). I was interested in the forms of knowledge that are drawn upon, reified, produced and altered through governmental practices and through resistance.

- **Fields of visibility:** Problematisations and particulars kinds of knowledge bring certain objects into visibility while obscuring others. Here I ask, following Dean (2010), by what kind of light does government or resistance illuminate certain objects? And by what kinds of light does it obscure others in shadow? How do certain things appear in view while others remain hidden?

- **Technologies**: Studies using governmentality approaches emphasise the technological aspect of government, including technical artefacts, strategies of social engineering and technologies of the self (Bröckling et al., 2012). In relation to

technologies, I ask, what technologies are used and resisted? How did these technologies become tools of government or resistance? What are the effects of these technologies? How did their use become rationalised?

- **Subjectivities**: Subjectivity—how individuals become the subjects of power, constituted as governable, capable of conducting others and of being conducted—was a primary focus of Foucault's project (Foucault, 1982). Throughout my analysis, I asked: how are certain subjectivities produced, reified, altered, and resisted? How do certain subjectivities come to be constituted by government and resistance? How do subjects come to understand themselves?

I did not systematically proceed through these questions by way of analysis. I used these questions to inform my interpretation of the data and my understanding of the situation, to form and alter the arguments that I make throughout the remainder of this thesis.

The work of governmentality—and indeed the work that I undertake here—is not ideal typification (that is, it is not normative) but the 'empirical mapping of governmental rationalities and techniques' (Rose et al., 2006, p. 99). I want to understand how this particular arrangement of things—the redevelopment of an inner-city public housing estate—became governed in this way, and how this became the subject of certain kinds of resistance.

Chapter 4.Case study

Getting off at Redfern Station, I emerge onto Redfern Street, one of the neighbourhood's main retail strips. Redfern Street contains a mix of businesses that feel pretty familiar in gentrifying areas: there are discount stores adjacent to trendy wine bars. There are multiple queer bars, one of which is adjacent to a cheap chicken shop, which strikes me as a bit emblematic of the dynamic around here. Just around the corner is the pirate-themed craft beer hall where I had my first date with my husband, and down Botany Road just to the left is the Vietnamese cafe where we had our second date. There are two pubs on Redfern Street. The Regent Hotel, closest to the station, remains a 'rough' pub, a remnant of the old neighbourhood. It has cheap beers on tap and many screens showing the greyhounds and horse racing and rugby league. No hipsters in there. The strip's second pub, the Tudor Hotel, was recently refurbished. It was once a pretty run-down local drinking hole, but now the Tudor is all blond-wood furniture and boutique beers on tap. Last week, after fieldwork, I had a glass of pinot noir and a $16 quinoa, chickpea and pomegranate salad in the Tudor. The television screens were playing soccer and Australian football, not rugby league. Redfern Street is home to the Aboriginal Medical Service, a Centrelink storefront[8] and a discount chemist, but it is also home to a growing number of cafes serving third-wave coffee, popular bars that attract a queue on weekends, a sourdough bakery and more yoga and barre studios than I care to count.

Turning south from Redfern Street, I walk down Cope Street towards the Waterloo estate. To my right are private apartments, the ground floor balconies with mesh grills. There's a few former industrial buildings have been converted into the trendy offices of media companies. I'm sure they got established here back when it would have seemed 'edgy' to be located in Redfern. I walk past the offices of Mudgin Gal and Koori Radio, local Indigenous community organisations. There's an empty block, with knee-high grass and dozens and dozens of broken beer bottles. Then I pass a row of terrace houses, about half of which remain in public hands. You can tell the public

[8] Centrelink is Australia's Federal government social security agency.

housing dwellings: they're the ones that haven't been painted, their fences and front gardens badly in need of repairs. One has two broken windows covered over with particle board. The privately-owned ones between them have fresh paint that cuts a clean line down the party wall between each property.

I pass the National Centre for Indigenous Excellence on my left, with its gym, pool and sports fields. Footy training is on, and dozens of young Aboriginal men are sweating it out on the astro turf. This used to be a school for local residents, but not anymore. Apparently these kids don't need schools, they need 'centres of excellence'.

I reach the corner of Cope and Philip Streets. Towering above me is the 16-storey Marton building, a public housing tower stretching the whole length of the block. On occasion, stray cats prowl aggressively along the nature strip between Marton's carpark and the street, protecting their litters from the incursions of strangers. There aren't any there today, but they've hissed at me before so I'm a little wary. Ibises pull rubbish from bins, making a mess outside the Salvation Army Hall. On the corner, an upturned shopping trolley from the local supermarket marks the boundary of the Waterloo estate.

As I turn up Philip Street, walking eastward, the 30 storeys of the Turanga building come into view, and beyond that the Matavai tower. The fig trees whose roots warp the pavement are filled with lorikeets and other native parrots, casting welcome shade but also a faint rotting smell, the legacy of months of fruit and bird droppings fermenting in the Sydney humidity.

On my left are three- and four-storey apartment buildings—private homes, with meshed-in balconies for security. Once, I seriously considered buying one of these apartments. The asking price was almost a million dollars, for a dingy two bedroom flat!

Standing here on Philip Street between Pitt Street and George Street gives me perhaps the clearest sense of how Waterloo is a neighbourhood with two very different faces. On one hand, there are million-dollar apartments, refurbished Victorian terraces, trendy cafes, warehouse offices housing creatives. Across the street, however, is a different story. A man pushing a trolley that looks to be full of clothes pauses to rummage through a garbage bin, shooing away the ibis perched on its rim. Two police officers

> *drive into the semi-circular driveway at the base of the Matavai building, slowly patrolling. A car without wheels or windows is parked under a fig tree, covered in layer upon layer of cockatoo shit. It's hard to believe, looking at it today, that Queen Elizabeth once drove down the driveway where those police officers are now, cutting the ribbon that opened the estate.*

I wrote this field note from jottings taken while wandering around Waterloo in mid 2018. They capture a few things that I think are worth noting before I get further into the detail of describing the Waterloo context.

The first is my personal connection with this place. As I mention in the above excerpt, my husband and I have spent a great deal of time around this area. He lived just to the south-east of the Waterloo estate when we began dating, and spent many days and evenings around Waterloo, in its many bars, cafes and parks. I have worked for years just to the north of the area, and so it has been a convenient area to meet friends for a drink after work. I even considered buying an apartment in the area for some time, looking seriously, as I mention, at an apartment in a block with a direct view of the Matavai and Turanga Tower. This leads me to the second thing that I want to mention here: gentrification.

When I was looking for an apartment in the area, I was struck by the stark divide that existed. Even as a professional on a good salary, working at one of the city's top universities, I was unable to afford a small apartment in the area—even one located so close to the stigmatised towers that its balcony was caged in steel bars. Apartments in adjacent streets now fetch close to a million dollars—often more—and houses exceeded the million-dollar threshold years ago. Rents are similarly high, and the enormous supply of new apartments in the renewal area in the adjacent Green Square neighbourhood has done little to dampen prices (Figure 1 shows the location of Waterloo in relation to Green Square, the CBD and other key sites). It's hard to keep track of the new bars and restaurants popping up in the area, especially along Redfern Street and Botany Road, the main retail strips. (I note that Redfern still displays many of the signs of gentrification identified by Shaw (2000) nearly two decades ago—especially the use of 'frontier' themed businesses. The number of 'pirate' themed bars speaks to this to some degree—though not quite the 'wild west', which would have different connotations in the Sydney context, the pirate themed bars speak to some sense of adventure and pioneering spirit engaged in the project of being in Redfern/Waterloo). Many of the pubs and shops that served the public housing residents have been closed or refurbished for trendier clientele, including the Duke of Wellington Hotel, situated right in the heart of the estate, which has been closed for years as the site is

redeveloped into private apartments. In short, the area has been rapidly gentrifying, with these extraordinary changes leaving an even starker neighbourhood divide in its wake.

Figure 1: Aerial photo showing Waterloo in relation to Sydney CBD and other key sites. Source: Urban Growth Development Corporation NSW.

Thirdly, I don't intend to gloss over the ways in which the Waterloo estate remains a place where deprivation, poverty and crime are present in the everyday lives of many tenants. Though I would argue that it is unfairly stigmatised, the Waterloo estate is for many a depressing, and at times unsafe, place to live. I would be lying if I said I hadn't occasionally worried for my safety while doing fieldwork on the estate, especially leaving meetings in the evenings in winter, when the footpaths under Waterloo's enormous fig trees felt especially dark and quiet. Many changes came in the late 2000s, after the Redfern riots (which I will discuss in this chapter), when national attention was turned to the neighbourhood. The New South Wales (NSW) State Government invested in changes that led to improvements in safety and security, including installing 'concierge' staff (contracted security officers) in the foyers of the high-rise towers, restricting access to buildings to residents and signed-in guests, erecting fencing around the walk-up apartment buildings, locking stair wells and laundries and improving maintenance (though maintenance remains a major concern of residents). Despite these improvements, it remains true that deprivation is the criteria for entry into public housing. In NSW, public housing has become such a scarce resource that eligibility criteria are so tight as to prevent all but those most deeply disadvantaged from acquiring a public tenancy. Along with this demographic profile comes high rates of mental illness, histories of incarceration, drug and alcohol abuse and precarious livelihoods

sometimes supplemented by petty crime.

Waterloo is a complicated place. In this thesis, I present a view of it that is inextricably perspectival. The data I draw upon here is a *product* of my research process, rather than a pre-existing suite of information that I have merely collected. The Foucauldian approach I adopt allows me to divorce my work from any attempt to be 'objective' or 'detached'—for Foucault, scholarly claims to having some privileged and unbiased view of the truth were both dishonest and beside the point. The construction of Waterloo depicted here is undeniably a product of my perspective, my experience, my own subjectivity. And while I wish to acknowledge this here, I don't make any attempts to redress this—for I feel to do so would be both futile and misleading.

However, while I can only share a view of Waterloo garnered from my own vantage point, I don't mean to present a static picture of Waterloo. Throughout my fieldwork, Waterloo and its residents were changing—and so was my relationship to it. At times, I was hopeful at others despairing for the future of this place. At times I was proud of the efforts of the tenants I had come to know and befriend, at others I was frustrated. This will likely come across throughout the thesis. I haven't attempted to remove this from the thesis—these affects and emotions were key to the ways that I came to know the place and its people, and to remove them would be to pretend at some objectivity that simply wasn't there. Just as the feelings of residents were often in flux, so too were mine.

Waterloo is many things to many people: for those who live there, it was simultaneously home while also being a sometimes unsafe and scary place. Despite recent improvements, memories of the area's darker days were still present. Though residents resented the redevelopment and the gentrification it would bring, many were cautiously optimistic about living in an area not characterised by its crime and poverty.

It will likely become obvious throughout this thesis that I believe there is much worth protecting on the Waterloo estate. I caution against misconstruing this belief as an indication that I'd like to see the place to continue on as it is today. The people of Waterloo deserve help in improving their neighbourhood and making it a safer and more pleasant place to live—but I'm not sure that a wholesale demolition and redevelopment is the most equitable way to go about it.

In this chapter, I introduce the case study for my dissertation: the redevelopment of Waterloo. I hope to paint a picture of Waterloo that is reflective of the data and information available about Waterloo, and of my own experiences of the place. My purpose here is to provide some background to the analysis chapters that follow, hopefully

enriching an understanding of Waterloo as a complicated and nuanced place, comprised of a deprived but proud working-class community and a public housing estate standing adjacent to a trendy, rapidly gentrifying population of wealthy professionals and students.

The redevelopment of Waterloo was announced just weeks after I began working on this PhD. Thus, I have followed it from its announcements to this point, three years in. The redevelopment process is far from over—indeed, it has barely begun, with plans not even yet fully fleshed out. What I describe in this section and throughout the rest of this thesis is not, then, a description of *how things played out* in the past tense, but rather of *how things are playing out*—present tense emphasised. Just as the redevelopment project itself has barely begun, so too will activism and opposition continue. This thesis presents discussion on a snapshot of events at Waterloo.

4.1 Waterloo's past

The Redfern-Waterloo area is home to Aboriginal people of the Gadigal clan of the Eora Nation. The Gadigal clan, whose land stretched from Burrawurra (South Head, the southern headland at the mouth of Sydney Harbour) to Blackwattle Creek, maintained the land through burnings and the maintenance of paths throughout their country (Hoff, 2019; Anderson, 1993). One of these paths runs south from Blackwattle Creek down to the shore of Botany Bay. After European invasion, this path eventually became Botany Road, which is today one of the main streets of Waterloo.

The Gadi people suffered devastation due to a small pox outbreak in 1789, however many of their clan remained in and around their country. Boxley's Clear, as Redfern was known in the early 1800s, became a meeting point for dispersed members of the Gadigal people and of their neighbouring clans. The corroborees[9] in Redfern were reported to keep the residents of the area awake at night. To prevent the disturbance, locals forcibly displaced the Gadigal from Redfern, moving them on into Waterloo, Alexandria and beyond.[10]

Many people of the Gadigal clan continue to have a connection to Redfern-Waterloo. Many remain residents of the area, or visit relatives and clan members in the area. The place has become

[9] Corroborees are gatherings for ceremonies and celebrations.

[10] Described in 'The Suburbs of Sydney. No. VIII-Waterloo and Alexandria', Sydney Echo, 12 June, 1890. Mitchell Library, Newspaper Cuttings, Volume 159, pp.35.7. in North Eveleigh Heritage Impact Statement.

symbolic as the home of a large proportion of Sydney's Indigenous population, which includes many community members not from the Gadigal clan but who have arrived in the area in the centuries since European invasion, including many from Wiradjuri country, to Sydney's west (Anderson, 1993).

European settlers first used Redfern-Waterloo for grazing. Subdivision commenced in 1853 with residential development in the form of terrace houses and workers cottages, peaking in the early 1880s (Allport, 1988). Some of this Victorian-era terrace housing remains in the Waterloo Conservation Area, adjacent to the public housing estate. By the mid 19th century, the nearby railway yards in Eveleigh began to offer employment opportunities in addition to other industries in the area such as tanneries, brickworks and market gardens (Allport, 1988; Anderson, 1993). The presence of the Waterloo Swamp, a wetland with plentiful water resources, saw that the area became the site of industries dependent on water, such as wool washing, paper milling, tanning and brickworks.

Residential development in Waterloo continued throughout the early 20th century, though failure to maintain the properties meant that many residents lived in slum-like conditions, with overcrowding, poor infrastructure and health problems rife (Allport, 1988).

4.1.1 Slum clearance and public housing

The predominant policy of pre-war Australian governments with regards to housing was the promotion of homeownership (Jacobs et al., 2010). High wages and low land costs meant it was possible for many Australians to save for and purchase a home (Jacobs et al., 2010). Public housing was rare in the pre-war years, with home ownership or private rental the primary tenure options available to Australians.

However, this approach left behind many inner-city working-class households. The lean welfare system and a reliance on the private housing market became problematic in the depression and war years of 1931-1944, when many unemployed people were forced to crowd into small homes or build 'humpies' (lean-tos) in urban areas (Allport, 1988). The working-class streets of Sydney, including around Waterloo, were mostly comprised of Victorian-era terrace housing, often divided into multiple family units. Many of these had deteriorated badly since their construction, and had come to be thought of as a threat to both moral and sanitary hygiene (Allport, 1988). Figure 2 shows a street scene in south Sydney from the 1930s,

Figure 2: The streets of south Sydney. Source: NSW State Library Collection.

The Commonwealth Government recognised that this problem was nationwide, necessitating intervention (Troy, 2009). Housing is not listed as a power of the Commonwealth Government under the Constitution of Australia, and thus responsibility for housing policy, funding and provision has fallen to the states. Troy notes that Commonwealth Governments have never been 'enthusiastic about involvement in housing', even when strong welfare reasons for participation were clear (Troy, 2009, p. 5). The Department of Post-War Reconstruction formed the Commonwealth Housing Commission in 1943 to address the post-war housing crisis.

The Commission's major outcome, the Commonwealth-State Housing Agreement, laid responsibility for housing construction and management with state governments, but provided financial assistance in the form of cheap credit to assist state governments to finance construction of public housing (Jacobs et al., 2010). States began to resume inner-city areas to construct workers' housing, and use greenfield sites on city fringes to construct broad acre estates.

Beginning in the late 1940s, the NSW Housing Commission resumed thousands of parcels of land throughout the inner-city neighbourhoods of Surry Hills, Redfern, Waterloo, Erskineville and Glebe. Many of the former residents were moved to 'huts' in Herne Bay that had formerly been the barracks and wards of the largest military hospital in Australia—the 118 General Hospital (Allport, 1988). Herne Bay was drastically overcrowded and sorely lacked vital infrastructure, with hundreds of residents sharing each bathroom block, and enduring swamp-like conditions after rain. With the redevelopment of the demolished inner-city slums taking some time, many residents were resettled in public housing constructed at Herne

Bay (renamed Riverwood) or were forced to find their own homes in the private market, often landing in emergency accommodation (Allport, 1988).

Demolition of degraded housing in Waterloo began in 1951. The reconstruction of five blocks to the southern end of Waterloo concluded in 1971, with the new blocks containing the low-rise walk-up apartment buildings that remain on the estate today (Redfern-Waterloo Authority, 2011). It was not until the 1970s that construction began on the 16- and 30-storey towers that dominate the Waterloo estate today (Redfern-Waterloo Authority, 2011). These towers were finished in 1976, and the two 30-storey towers, Matavai and Turanga, designed and reserved specifically for elderly tenants, were opened by Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh in March 1977. Queen Elizabeth is shown in Figure 3 opening the Waterloo estate in a ribbon-cutting ceremony.

Figure 3: Queen Elizabeth at the opening of the Waterloo public housing estate, 1977. Source: Scott Whitehair.

The estate's walk-up apartment buildings are brick-built in a style common for mid-century walk-ups. The taller towers, shown in Figure 4, are built in the *beton brut* (raw concrete) modernist style common to public works built in the 1960s and 1970s. The development was, like many of its day, planned along the lines of Le Corbusier's 'radiant city' (Hollow, 2010), with tall towers separated by large swathes of parkland intended to provide places for residents to exercise and socialise.

Figure 4: Waterloo's 30-storey towers—Matavai and Turanga—with remaining Victorian-era terraces in the foreground. Source: author.

The redeveloped housing at Waterloo came with conditions which meant many incumbent residents were ineligible to return (Allport, 1988)—in stark contrast to the public housing of today, the development of public housing in mid-century Sydney had a gentrifying effect, seeing poorer and more precarious households relocated and better-off households with stable employment offered housing in the newly developed towers.

Further demolitions of Victorian housing and industrial areas were planned to make way for further public housing constructions. At this time, however, the Green Bans were in full swing, led by one of the state's largest unions. The Green Bans were a campaign driven by the NSW Builders and Labourers Federation in collaboration with local community groups across Sydney. The union instituted work bans on development projects deemed to be detrimental to the city and its people. Throughout the 1970s, the union instituted over 40 green bans preventing around $40 billion worth of developments (Burgmann & Burgmann, 1999). Their efforts preserved working class suburbs, heritage districts, harbour front bushland, historic buildings, parkland and affordable housing.

In Waterloo, local community leaders called upon the union to prevent the demolition of remaining Victorian terraces that were home to working class families. Many of the terraced streets of Waterloo had already been demolished to make way for the Housing Commission's walk-ups and towers. Local residents asked the Builders and Labourers Federation to institute a Green Ban to prevent further resumption and demolition of housing in Waterloo. The

campaign was successful, and no further housing was resumed in Waterloo for the construction of public housing.

4.1.2 Decline of public housing

The 30-storey towers of the Waterloo estate would be some of the last of their kind constructed in NSW. The Green Bans protests in Waterloo were focused on preventing further demolition of historic workers' (Victorian terrace) housing that would make way for further tower construction. Simultaneously, due to changes in the way that public housing finance was provided at the Federal level, states were investing less in public housing than in previous decades (Jacobs et al., 2010). This change in funding did not correlate with any decline in demand for subsidised housing: repeated recessions from the mid 1970s to the mid 1990s increased the numbers of unemployed and disadvantaged households that would come to rely on subsidised housing (Jacobs et al., 2010).

Disinvestment and slowed rates of construction meant that the NSW Housing Commission couldn't hope to house all applicants on their waiting lists. Instead of expanding supply to meet demand, criteria were tightened such that only those deemed at highest risk were eligible for assistance (Jacobs et al., 2010). Many of these households experienced multiple and complex forms of disadvantage. These households cost more to house and paid less in rent (Atkinson & Jacobs, 2008) than other households, and created a new demand for the provision of social services within housing—a challenge for the Housing Commission, which previously dealt only with construction and management of housing stock (Habibis et al., 2007). These factors sent the NSW Housing Commission into a downward financial spiral of rising costs and declining income—a pattern mimicking that experienced in the US prior to HOPE VI (Vale, 2013).

Over time, the high-rise public housing in Waterloo, Redfern and Surry Hills became infamously known as the 'suicide towers'—places supposedly so bad and so rife with mentally ill tenants that no-one in their right mind would want to continue living there. Reporting by the *Daily Telegraph*, Sydney's tabloid newspaper, and *A Current Affair*, an entertainment news show, as well as other major news outlets, depicted the area as violent and drug ridden (Box, 2015; Carswell, 2015).

In the decade to 2009, spending on public housing across Australia fell by 11% (Atkinson & Jacobs, 2008). The kinds of declines that had been experienced in Waterloo were echoed across the country. In Waterloo, however, some changes have been afoot since 2010 that have seen circumstances on the estate improve despite a general picture of decline in public housing across the country.

In 2010, the NSW Government implemented the 'Waterloo Green Neighbourhood Project', which intended to provide funding for safety and security projects around Waterloo (NSW Department of Human Services, 2010). Upgrades to the physical environment—including fences around the low-rise apartment buildings, locks on laundries and other common spaces, and refurbishments of common areas—improved the security and safety of many spaces. The concierge service (staffed by security contractors) and new swipe-card access locks restricted access to the high-rise buildings, limiting the extent to which unauthorised visitors or vandals could access the buildings (NSW Department of Human Services, 2010). Further, the program involved a contract for ongoing maintenance of the buildings to address tenant concerns with unresolved maintenance issues that were making the buildings unpleasant or unsafe to live in (NSW Department of Human Services, 2010).

Most of the improvements trialled in this 2010 project have been continued. Residents largely report that they have been beneficial, and that the 'worst days' of life on the estate are behind them. Though crime and disturbances still feature in life on the estate, residents reported to me throughout my fieldwork that they feel much safer now than they did in previous years. This, in the context of the redevelopment, has become a source of grievance for residents, many of whom feel that they fought and campaigned for decades for improvements, only to find themselves being evicted from their homes now that they are finally in a decent state.

4.2 Waterloo today: A tale of two neighbourhoods

Waterloo is extraordinarily well located within inner-city Sydney. It is only three kilometres south of the CBD, in walking distance to two of the city's major universities, and a major train station (Redfern Station, one of the busiest in the city).

Waterloo is often grouped together with its neighbouring suburb, Redfern—indeed, many in Sydney know the towers of the Waterloo public housing estate as the 'Redfern towers'. The area is also known as 'South Sydney', named for the former local government area that the suburbs comprised, as well as for its local football team.

The local rugby league football team, the South Sydney Rabbitohs, founded in 1908, is an important cultural icon. The Rabbitohs were known as a working-class team even within Australia's working-class football code. When the team was banished from the national league in 1999 due to a lack of funds, many in the community saw it as emblematic of the fate of their working-class community, which was

beginning to be expunged from the city as housing prices climbed and subsidised housing was steadily privatised. The club was saved by famous fans, including actor Russell Crowe, in 2002, and was readmitted to the national league. In 2014, the Rabbitohs won the national premiership for the first time in more than 40 years, and the area erupted in joyful celebrations that lasted months. Over a year later, when the redevelopment of Waterloo was announced in December 2015, South Sydney flags and banners still hung proudly from windows and balconies across the neighbourhood.

In many ways, the story of the Rabbitohs feels analogous to that of the broader south Sydney community. The community had a working-class history, but in recent times a crisis of housing affordability has threatened to rupture that community—and has indeed already led to an influx of many wealthier households at the expense of working-class households. The community, like its football fans, clings strongly to a local pride and sense of shared identity, though remains fearful for its future, feeling that its continued presence in Waterloo hangs at the mercy of the government and developers.

The rapid gentrification of Redfern and Waterloo over the last two decades has brought incredible change. The area is now characterised by two distinct populations: the disadvantaged tenants of public housing, and the affluent population living in newer apartments and terraced housing.

4.2.1 Housing profile

Waterloo is comprised of several different housing stocks, the oldest being Victorian-era terrace housing on narrow, tree-lined streets. These are generally two-storey dwellings, each with a small front and back courtyard and with service lanes running behind. Though they were once much-maligned as slums for the working class, these terraces are now highly prized by Sydneysiders, and many of these dwellings have been renovated to improve their liveability and value. In Waterloo, some of these terraces remain in public hands, though the majority are now privately owned. Waterloo also contains a significant stock of public housing built in the mid 20th century, primarily the modernist high-rise towers of the Waterloo estate, as well as some low-rise (two- and three-storey) apartment buildings. Waterloo's newest housing stock tends to be comprised of apartment stock of relatively high density, most of which was built since 2000, especially in the neighbourhood's eastern parts, where gentrification of former industrial areas, especially around a precinct known as 'Dank Street', began in the 2000s.

Waterloo is, relative to the Australian context, an especially dense place with an unusually high proportion of renters and public tenants.

The vast majority of people in Waterloo (89.7%) live in apartments, compared to just 13% in the rest of Australia, and only 0.3% live in separate houses—the stock which comprises the majority of housing stock across Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017a). More of these dwellings (70.8% of all dwellings in Waterloo) are rented than are owner-occupied, inverting the Australian norm that sees owner-occupation as the dominant housing tenure. The presence of a large number of publicly-owned dwellings accounts for a significant proportion of this: around one in three households in Waterloo rent from Housing NSW (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017b). That public housing is largely contained within a single housing estate within the suburb of Waterloo, though a small number of detached-dwelling public housing units are scattered throughout the streets elsewhere in the neighbourhood. This means that the neighbourhood looks relatively mixed at the broader scale, but on the street-level there is little mix in tenure, with certain parts of the neighbourhood characterised wholly by private tenure and others by public housing.

Median house price in Waterloo reached over $1.3 million by mid 2018, and median unit price had reached $840,000 (RP Data, 2018). This follows 10 years of rapid growth in housing prices, including over 40% growth in some years (RP Data, 2018). Housing costs in Waterloo remain very high: the median weekly rent paid by residents of Waterloo is $520, significantly higher than the NSW median of $380 (and higher still than the Australian median of $335) (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017a). The persistence of these high median costs despite the presence of a large publicly-housed community, whose rents are income-based and therefore relatively low, suggests that the difference between the national rental median and private rental in Waterloo is greater than the median suggests, further illustrating the yawning gap between the publicly housed community and their privately housed neighbours.

The contrast between Waterloo's two populations (middle-class households and public housing tenants) appears particularly stark when the median weekly rent of $520 is compared to the 2019 Newstart allowance—the basic unemployment benefit paid by the Federal Government—and the old age pension. The old age pension pays $463.10 per week, while Newstart in 2019 is $277.85 per week,[11] making median rents in the neighbourhood completely out of reach for low-income residents.

Around 4,400 people live in public housing in Waterloo—though this

[11] These payments are indexed annually. These rates were found at https://www.humanservices.gov.au/individuals/services/centrelink/age-pension/eligibility/payment-rates (old age pension) and at https://www.humanservices.gov.au/individuals/services/centrelink/newstart-allowance/how-much-you-can-get (Newstart); sites accessed 23 April 2019.

figure is debated. Several local community services believe that the government underestimates the numbers of publicly housed people in Waterloo: anecdotal evidence suggests public tenants are likely to avoid including some household members in census reporting due to financial consequences for having additional people in their household, including penalties for households that house individuals that are not officially recorded on the lease.

4.2.2 Population

The neighbourhood of Waterloo is home to just over 14,000 people (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017a). The demographic profile of the area needs to be considered carefully, as neighbourhood averages mask the diversity of this area and the divide that exists between the wealthy, middle-class professionals and the public housing residents.

Although Waterloo has a younger-than-average population (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017a), the population of the public housing estate is older than average, with around one third of residents aged over 65 (compared with 8% in the rest of the City of Sydney) (NSW Government, 2018d). The estate also has a high proportion of people who live alone and people who live with a disability (NSW Government, 2018d).

Largely linked to the presence of a large welfare-receiving population in public housing, residents of Waterloo are more likely to be unemployed than the rest of the Australian population (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017a). The number of unemployed residents in the suburb declined from 9.4% to 8.2% in the five years to 2016, likely due to the influx of around 4,000 new residents (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017a), mostly in newly-built private apartments in the eastern part of the suburb (some distance from the public housing estate).

Despite this high proportion of unemployed residents, those who are employed are more likely to be employed in professional occupations, and median personal income for the area as a whole is slightly higher than for the rest of Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017a). The proportion of residents in Waterloo earning very low incomes (less than $650/week gross) *and* the proportion of residents earning high incomes ($3,000/week gross) are higher in Waterloo than in the rest of Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017a), further illustrating this neighbourhood divide.

Waterloo is highly culturally diverse. Residents of Waterloo are more likely to have parents from diverse origins, and more likely to either have parents born overseas or to have been born overseas themselves, than the rest of the Australian population (Australian Bureau of

Statistics, 2017a). A large proportion—41%—of residents of Waterloo live in a home where a language other than English is spoken (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017a). Waterloo is also home to a slightly higher proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people than the rest of the country (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017a)—and anecdotal evidence suggests that under-reporting of Aboriginal households in the census in Waterloo may mean this is in fact a higher proportion than the census indicates.

The redevelopment of Waterloo takes place in the context of a deeply unequal neighbourhood. Waterloo's public housing tenants live in a vastly different environment—socially, culturally and in housing terms—to that of the privately-housed residents that live alongside them. The redevelopment project will drastically change the composition of the neighbourhood, diluting the concentration of disadvantage at the heart of the suburb by injection an enormous influx of money, developers and middle-class households into the area. In the next chapter, I provide an outline of the context for this redevelopment, and a brief overview of what the redevelopment project involves. I do so with a view to providing background for the following chapter, in which I undertake an analytics of government to draw out how the redevelopment of Waterloo is governed.

Chapter 5. The redevelopment project

5.1 The context

In 2004, a young Aboriginal man, TJ Hickey, died after being pursued by police through Waterloo. The incident, which came after decades of growing tensions between police and the Aboriginal community, sparked violent riots which lasted days (ABC News, 2004). The exact circumstances of the boy's death remain unclear, with many conflicting accounts complicating the coroner's investigations. But what emerged clearly from these events was a deep-set mistrust of the government and its institutions on the part of the local Aboriginal community—sentiments shared by many residents of Waterloo, who felt their area had been abandoned by the government.

The NSW Labor Government held an inquiry into the issues that had made such events possible in Redfern-Waterloo. The inquiry focused on the effectiveness of government, non-government and policing programs and strategies in place in the Redfern-Waterloo area. Anecdotal evidence suggests that many public housing residents felt that the inquiry was staged as an opportunity for government to establish a justification for planning the redevelopment of Waterloo.

Though the inquiry's Interim Report (Burnswoods, 2004b) focused entirely on policing, provision of government and non-government community and health services, and support for the Aboriginal Housing Company's redevelopment of The Block—a site of former terrace houses slated for redevelopment into Aboriginal community housing—in Redfern, rather than the redevelopment of public housing, the Government established the Redfern-Waterloo Authority. Established while the inquiry was still underway, the Authority was to be tasked with planning the redevelopment of the area. The Final Report of the inquiry (Burnswoods, 2004a) focuses heavily on recommendations relating to redevelopment of the built environment, with these actions to be delivered through the newly-established Authority.

The Redfern-Waterloo Authority undertook studies and consultation that culminated in the publication of a Built Environment Plan

(Redfern-Waterloo Authority, 2011), a plan for redeveloping parts of Waterloo. The Built Environment Plan was less ambitious in scope than the current redevelopment program, and proposed the retention and refurbishment of the high-rise buildings which it estimated to have a further 30 years of useful life (Redfern-Waterloo Authority, 2011).

Only minor parts of the Built Environment Plan were ever implemented, largely due to the Redfern-Waterloo Authority being disbanded when the long-standing Labor Party government was replaced by a Liberal Party government in March 2011. The new Liberal Government did away with the Redfern-Waterloo Authority, handing its authorities to the Sydney Metropolitan Development Authority in January 1 2012, including responsibility for implementing the Built Environment Plan. Several changes under the Liberal Government between 2013 and 2018 saw the Sydney Metropolitan Development Authority's powers transferred through various agencies. Those powers now sit largely with the newly-created Urban Growth NSW Development Corporation ('Urban Growth' throughout this thesis) which was created in 2018 through splitting and merging multiple organisations and legislative powers). Urban Growth has responsibilities relating to several sites across the city, including Waterloo, and is responsible for 'promoting, co-ordinating, managing and securing' the orderly development of 'growth centres' (Urban Growth NSW Development Corporation, 2018). It was indicated in 2013 that Urban Growth, in taking over from the Development Authority, would work towards implementing the Built Environment Plan. As far as I have been able to determine, no formal decision—or, at least, no formal announcement—to walk away from the Built Environment Plan's implementation was ever made by the NSW Government.

Finding information about the history of the various development corporations and agencies involved in Waterloo is difficult. Websites are disabled as each agency closes, and the new agency websites often lack information about when, how or why various agencies were formed or disbanded. Without the extraordinary resources of RedWatch, a local community organisation that keeps an archive of media releases and reports relating to government activities in Waterloo, finding the requisite information to understand the history of development corporations would be a difficult task. Rogers (2014, p. 233) notes that RedWatch members described their role as providing an 'inconvenient corporate memory' for those government records that tend to go astray over time. As I will discuss later, the profusion of agencies involved in the redevelopment of Waterloo was a source of confusion and frustration for residents. For me, a researcher with experience working in government agencies, finding the information was difficult. For public housing tenants, many of whom are not proficient in using the internet to find information,

understanding the history of government involvement in their area was no easy task.

In this short chapter, I aim to provide some background and context for the substantive chapters that follow. I focus on outlining the key elements of the redevelopment program, before delving into an analytics of government around the redevelopment in the chapter that follows. I begin with the policy context, before discussing the specific elements of the redevelopment project to date. I also provide an overview of the key organisations involved in Waterloo and the redevelopment, to provide some contextual information.

5.1.1 Communities Plus and Future Directions

By 2015, public housing had been in decline in NSW for several decades. Apart from a few renewal projects in the city's southwest (see Darcy and Rogers (2014), and Rogers (2012a) for more information about these renewals), little new construction of public housing had taken place, and maintenance issues abounded while the public housing waitlist grew.

The State Government's main activity around housing affordability over the recent years has been on facilitating the provision of affordable housing. Affordable housing, which provides income-based rentals to low-to-moderate-income households not necessarily eligible for public housing, has been primarily funded through 'inclusionary zoning' provisions. This zoning requires developers to build, or pay a levy towards, affordable housing equivalent to a certain proportion of the new housing developed at designated sites (Williams, 1997). This has, however, done little to relieve pressure on the public housing waitlist, which remains at over 50,000 households, with most households waiting more than 10 years to be housed (NSW Department of Families and Community Services, 2017).

Meanwhile, public housing has been sold off at key sites. Perhaps the most controversial of these, partly because of its high profile but also due to the nature of the program, was the sale of Millers Point (see, for more on this Morris (2016) and Morris (2017)). A harbourside neighbourhood adjacent to both the CBD and the recently-redeveloped Barangaroo precinct, Millers Point housed hundreds of public housing tenants in a mix of heritage-listed terrace houses and in an iconic modernist building, Sirius. Many of the terrace houses had fallen into disrepair due to Government failures to provide adequate maintenance.

The location of these public housing dwellings has become highly coveted, located in walking distance to the CBD and with views of the

Sydney Harbour Bridge and the Sydney Opera House. The Government announced in 2014 that all 400 residents would be evicted from Millers Point and their public housing units sold. Residents were given options for relocation across the city, with only a small number of residents relocated within the Millers Point neighbourhood. Despite resistance campaigns by residents, by 2019 the Government had evicted all public tenants from the dwellings in Millers Point. The trauma inflicted upon the long-term residents who were forcibly evicted from their homes to dispersed sites elsewhere in the city has been documented in the media, in film (Lucine, 2018) and in academic literature (Morris, 2017).

The Government has also begun to embrace social mix as a rationale for renewing public housing estates across NSW. In 2014, over a dozen renewal projects for public housing estates were underway, involving some mix of sales, demolition, and private and/or public redevelopment of housing, most of these involving some degree of urban intensification (Eastgate, 2014).

The announcement of the redevelopment of Waterloo came as the NSW Government was announcing a significant focus on estate renewal across NSW, using a model similar to that trialled in Riverwood.

The Riverwood estate was one of the first to be renewed in Sydney. In Riverwood, the development of new private housing on the site was used to fund community housing providers to deliver social and affordable housing on-site, replacing dilapidated public housing. The redevelopment of Riverwood, which is ongoing, appeared to provide something of a model for renewal going forward. The project is now part of the Communities Plus program.

Communities Plus is a program of estate renewal being rolled out across major estates across NSW, especially in key sites in Sydney where land is valuable. Under the program, public land is sold or leased to private developers, who construct private residential and commercial developments on site. The financial arrangements for the delivery of social housing appear to vary depending upon the site, however most sites appear to involve the replacement of public housing on site, generally being built by private developers, and their management is transferred to community housing providers. Communities Plus builds on previous efforts to implement 'social mix' policies, cementing it into a state-wide program of renewal.

The Future Directions policy (NSW Government, 2016) was released in early 2016, just a month after the announcement of the Waterloo development. The policy clearly signals the movement away from government involvement in subsided housing provision, with the policy prompting an acceleration in the transfer of public housing to

community housing providers; the increased involvement of private companies in social housing construction, management and maintenance; and the increased use of incentives and private market mechanisms to shift tenants out of social housing and into the private market.

The redevelopment of Waterloo is emblematic of and entangled within these broader systemic changes occurring in the social housing system in NSW: unlike the earlier proposed redevelopment of the area that emerged through the work of the Redfern Waterloo Authority, which ostensibly responded to local pressures and demands, this redevelopment program emerges as part of a suite of state-wide changes in the way social housing is governed. A move away from highly concentrated estates is matched by a shift away from government construction, ownership and management of public housing. The Communities Plus model involves mixed tenure estates with 'social' housing that is built, owned and managed by some mix of private and non-government organisations.

5.1.2 The privatisation of public housing

The Communities Plus program is perhaps emblematic of the direction of social housing policy in an age characterised by the 'hyper-commodification' of housing (Madden and Marcuse, 2016). The privatisation of public housing assets began several decades ago, as changing Federal Government funding arrangements allowed state housing authorities across Australia to begin selling—and transferring to third sector organisations—portions of their public housing portfolios (Hayward, 1996).

Though not necessarily framed by governments as a *privatisation* measure, the tenancy transfer process can be seen as one in which a landlord directly controlled by an elected authority is exchanged for one 'formally constituted as a private entity' and only indirectly accountable to government via regulation (Pawson and Wiesel, 2014, p. 353).

Internationally, transfers to non-government providers have been enthusiastically embraced by governments seeking to shift public housing off their balance sheets. The US has seen over 260,000 dwellings privatised since the 1990s, though this pales in comparison to the UK, where around 3 million dwellings have been privatised since 1981 (Madden and Marcuse, 2019, p. 30), much of which was achieved through a massive process of stock transfer which saw around 1.5 million former council houses transferred to housing associations (Pawson and Mullins, 2010). In Australia, the transfer of public assets has been slower, with states generally selling off small portions of their stock over several decades. With new renewal and

transfer programs such as Communities Plus, however, the pace of privatisation is changing.

This transfer of public dwellings has been characterised as part of a neoliberal urban project described as 'the new urban enclosure' (Hodkinson, 2012), 'accumulation by dispossession' (Harvey, 2008), 'state-led gentrification' (Watt, 2009), and 'gentrification by stealth' (Bridge, Butler and Lees, 2011).

This privatisation of public housing in Australia reflects what Christophers (2017) describes as the 'indirect' financialisation of public assets: governments themselves do not necessarily treat public land as an asset, which might involve developing, letting, leveraging, or speculating, but rather they transfer or sell the assets so that the private sector can handle the asset in this way. These transfers of land, housing and tenancies to third sector providers—and the sales of land to private developers mentioned in the previous section—can, then, be viewed as a form of indirect privatisation and financialisation.

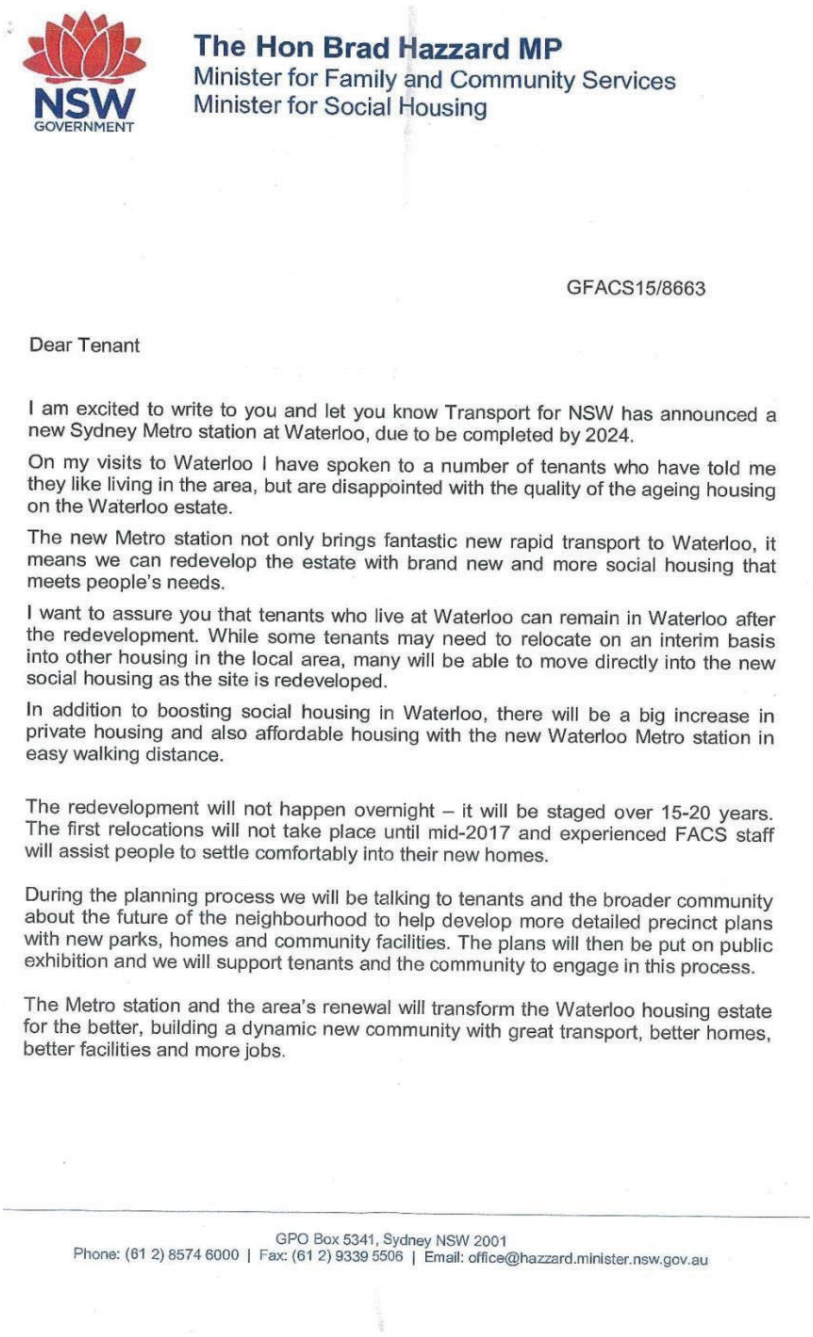
Viewed from a Foucauldian or governmentality perspective, as I discuss in more detail in Chapter 6, these transfers are key responses to the problematisation of state involvement in housing. The redevelopment, and the broader Communities Plus program, involves privatisation at several levels: the sale or lease of the land on which existing public housing stands to private developers; the construction of new private residential and commercial development on that land; and the transfer of tenancy management of public housing to non-government providers.

For the remainder of this chapter, I will focus on describing some of the key events that took place in the Waterloo redevelopment program.

5.2 The redevelopment of Waterloo

5.2.1 The announcement

In December 2015, on the same day it circulated a press release on the subject, the NSW Department of Family and Community Services placed letters in the mailboxes of every household of the Waterloo public housing estate. The letters informed the residents that their estate was to be redeveloped, and that a 'new community' would be built in its place. The letters, shown in Figure 5, told residents that the decision to place a new train station on the private Sydney Metro line in Waterloo was a catalyst for the redevelopment decision.



The Hon Brad Hazzard MP
Minister for Family and Community Services
Minister for Social Housing

GFACS15/8663

Dear Tenant

I am excited to write to you and let you know Transport for NSW has announced a new Sydney Metro station at Waterloo, due to be completed by 2024.

On my visits to Waterloo I have spoken to a number of tenants who have told me they like living in the area, but are disappointed with the quality of the ageing housing on the Waterloo estate.

The new Metro station not only brings fantastic new rapid transport to Waterloo, it means we can redevelop the estate with brand new and more social housing that meets people's needs.

I want to assure you that tenants who live at Waterloo can remain in Waterloo after the redevelopment. While some tenants may need to relocate on an interim basis into other housing in the local area, many will be able to move directly into the new social housing as the site is redeveloped.

In addition to boosting social housing in Waterloo, there will be a big increase in private housing and also affordable housing with the new Waterloo Metro station in easy walking distance.

The redevelopment will not happen overnight – it will be staged over 15-20 years. The first relocations will not take place until mid-2017 and experienced FACS staff will assist people to settle comfortably into their new homes.

During the planning process we will be talking to tenants and the broader community about the future of the neighbourhood to help develop more detailed precinct plans with new parks, homes and community facilities. The plans will then be put on public exhibition and we will support tenants and the community to engage in this process.

The Metro station and the area's renewal will transform the Waterloo housing estate for the better, building a dynamic new community with great transport, better homes, better facilities and more jobs.

GPO Box 5341, Sydney NSW 2001
Phone: (61 2) 8574 6000 | Fax: (61 2) 9339 5506 | Email: office@hazzard.minister.nsw.gov.au

Figure 5: Letter to tenants from Minister for Social Housing, Brad Hazzard.

The letter told residents that the redevelopment, which will include private and affordable housing as well as social housing, will take 15-20 years to complete and that residents would be able to return to the estate if they wish once the redevelopment is complete. The rhetoric around this particular aspect has since changed, with the government announcing in the months that followed that the redevelopment would see only a very small proportion of tenants moved off the estate,

with the majority relocated directly into new housing on site.

The area that forms the focus for the redevelopment is primarily comprised of the highest-density areas of Waterloo's public housing. It includes the four 16-storey and two 30-storey towers, as well as several blocks of two- and three-storey walk-up apartment buildings. The area subject to redevelopment is shown in Figure 6.

Figure 6: Aerial photo identifying Waterloo State Significant Precinct.
Source: Communities Plus Newsletter, October 2017.

Throughout much of 2016, there was little visible activity around Waterloo with regards to the redevelopment. Several information sessions were held by the Lord Mayor Clover Moore, local member of the Legislative Assembly Jenny Leong, and by the Minister for Social Housing Brad Hazzard. A tender was released by the Government for the delivery of masterplanning services for the redevelopment

In May 2017, the Minister for Planning and Housing Anthony Roberts announced Waterloo as a State Significant Precinct. This is a planning designation that changes the way Waterloo's redevelopment is handled in the planning system, transferring authority for land-use planning on the site away from the local government and giving this authority to the NSW Minister for Planning. This designation includes plans for the Waterloo Metro station and the Metro Quarter, the precinct above the underground station to be redeveloped.

5.2.2 The Metro Quarter and Waterloo Metro station

The Sydney Metro line is part of a major public transport project intended to link Sydney's 'Global Arc'. The Global Arc, shown in Figure 7 is a 'corridor' identified in the NSW Government's key metropolitan spatial planning strategy for Sydney. It runs from Sydney's airport to the city's south, through the Green Square area,[12] the Sydney CBD, North Sydney, Chatswood and northwest to Macquarie Park—a major university and industrial park which is also the site of another major Communities Plus project, the Ivanhoe Estate. The Global Arc is intended to represent Sydney's business and economic centres, capturing key areas of growth, finance and development.

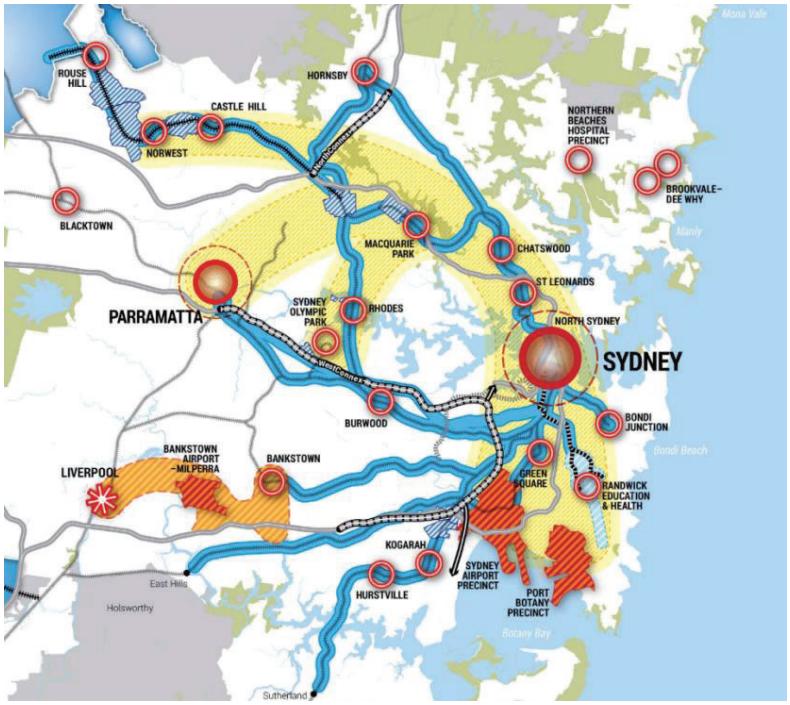


Figure 7: Map from *A Plan for Growing Sydney*, the NSW Government's Metropolitan Plan, showing the 'global arc' in yellow. Source: NSW Government.

The Sydney Metro train, invoked by the Government as a key catalyst for the renewal project, has been a controversial development in the city, as it involves privatising an existing heavy rail line and replacing its services with metro-style trains, involving a closure of the existing

[12] Green Square is an urban renewal site to Waterloo's immediate south, and has been touted by the State Government as the largest brownfield redevelopment project in the Southern Hemisphere.

train line for significant periods as the lines are upgraded. The University of Sydney, located only a couple of kilometres from Waterloo, had campaigned to see the final train station located near its campus, as it is currently under-serviced by public transport. Instead, the NSW Government opted for a station at Waterloo.

The Metro Station is located slightly to the west of the Waterloo estate, taking in what is currently a retail and commercial precinct. These premises, which included a bulk-billing doctor[13] and a 100-year old printing business, were compulsorily acquired by the State Government for the purposes of the Metro Station construction.

Plans for the commercial and residential development that will sit above the underground Metro Station, called the Metro Quarter, are being managed by Urban Growth, the NSW Government's development corporation. Plans for the Metro Quarter reveal the high-density development planned for the site, including three high-rise towers and significant retail space. The plans indicate that 20% of the 700 planned dwellings on the Metro Quarter site will be social or affordable housing. The scale of the planned development of the Metro Quarter is shown in Figure 8. Plans for the site were lodged with the Minister for Planning in mid-2018.

Demolition of buildings for the construction of the Metro Station began in 2017, with the station expected to be completed by 2022.

[13] 'Bulk billing' is the term given to doctors in Australia who do not charge any additional fee beyond the Federal Government subsidy for general practitioner's appointments. Bulk billing doctors are critical resources for low-income communities, providing free access to healthcare.

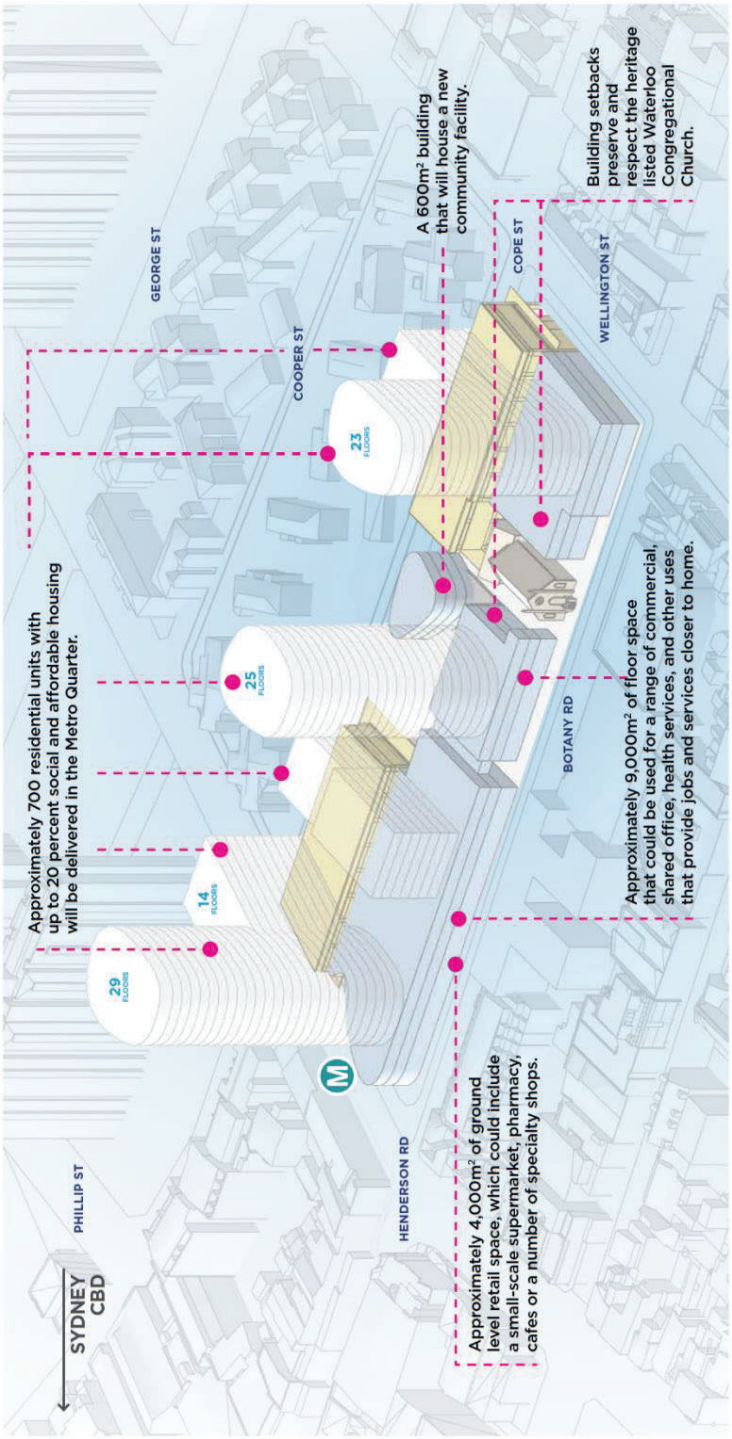


Figure 8: Plans for Waterloo Metro Quarter. Source: Urban Growth Development Corporation.

5.2.3 The consultation and engagement process

In 2016, the Government provided funding for the appointment of several positions to work with local community service agencies to prepare residents for the redevelopment consultation process. These included a Community Development worker, hosted by Counterpoint Community Services (a local community development organisation), a Capacity Building Officer, hosted by Inner Sydney Voice (a peak body for community organisations in south Sydney), and an Aboriginal Liaison Officer, also hosted by Inner Sydney Voice.

The Capacity Building Officer delivered a series of workshops and events at Waterloo in 2017, many of which I attended and which I discuss in Chapter 10. These workshops were well attended by local community members, though often attendees might be described as 'the usual suspects': those tenants and tenant representatives which attended many meetings and events.

Beginning in November 2016, staff from the Land and Housing Corporation, the Government landholder for the Waterloo estate, together with staff from Counterpoint Community Services, began coordinating meetings of the Waterloo Redevelopment Group. The Redevelopment Group, comprised of local tenant representatives from the Neighbourhood Advisory Board, local community service agencies, relevant government departments and other interested stakeholders, began meeting monthly with a remit to provide input on the details of community consultation and engagement. I observed many of these meetings through 2017-18 as part of my fieldwork.

In 2017, the NSW Government appointed a consultant to undertake consultation as part of the 'visioning' process for the redevelopment. KJA, a community engagement consultancy, were appointed to undertake this project. Dozens of workshops and forums were held throughout late-2017 and early-2018. I attended a handful of these, though the majority were held after I completed my fieldwork. Several of these workshops were held in languages spoken by many Waterloo residents, especially Mandarin and Russian. The findings of these workshops and forums were reported in *Let's talk Waterloo: Visioning report key findings* (KJA, 2018), released in May 2018.

5.2.4 Masterplanning

Following the publication of the visioning report, the Government prepared a brochure outlining three 'options' for the built form of the redeveloped estate (NSW Government, 2018c). These three options each involve enormous population density uplifts for Waterloo. Each of the 'options' involved at least a three-fold increase in density

compared to the existing built form, with high-rise buildings of up to 40 storeys and extensive retail/commercial space (the existing public housing estate contains almost no retail space—only a single small convenience store). The options brochure also outlines the phasing of the redevelopment stages, which indicates that the low-rise apartment buildings to the southern end of the estate will be the first to be redeveloped (NSW Government, 2018c), likely involving the relocation of residents from these buildings to vacant apartments in the high-rise buildings while these areas are redeveloped.

Consultation on these options was undertaken in late-2018, and continued into early 2019. The Government released a final masterplan for the area in 2019. Residents were informed that the first relocations will not take place until sometime in 2019 at the earliest. In Figure 9, I provide a simplified timeline of key activities around the redevelopment.

December 2015	Minister Hazzard announces the redevelopment of Waterloo via letter to residents
February 2016	Minister Hazzard holds first consultation on the redevelopment
March 2016	Waterloo Public Housing Action Group forms
November 2016	Waterloo Redevelopment Group begins meeting monthly
	Government releases draft Stakeholder Engagement Framework
January 2017	Government releases tender documents for masterplanning consultancy
March 2017	Community Development Officer and Capacity Building Officer begin working at community service organisations
May 2017	Waterloo designation as a State Significant Precinct
October 2017	Consultation for 'visioning' process underway
May 2018	Visioning report is released by KJA consultants
August 2018	Waterloo Redevelopment Options Brochure released by Communities Plus
October 2018	Consultation on Waterloo Redevelopment Options Brochure undertaken by Communities Plus
March 2019	Masterplan for Waterloo submitted to Department of Planning for Approval

Figure 9: Simple timeline of key events at Waterloo relating to the redevelopment, December 2015-March 2019.

5.3 Key organisations

A large number of government and non-government organisations have played some role in the redevelopment of Waterloo, and therefore are critical to understanding the story that I tell throughout the remainder of this thesis. Here, I provide a brief overview of the key organisations that are mentioned throughout.

5.3.1 Government agencies

The **NSW Land and Housing Corporation** is the landowner of the Waterloo estate. Established through the Housing Act (2001), the Land and Housing Corporation is a Public Trading Enterprise. They are also the agency responsible for administering Communities Plus, the public housing renewal program through which the redevelopment of the Waterloo estate is being coordinated. The Land and Housing Corporation, through the Communities Plus program, is responsible for the consultation and masterplanning processes concerning the Waterloo estate.

The **NSW Department of Family and Community Services** is the government department with responsibility for social housing in the state. Through Housing NSW, its social housing agency, it manages the tenancies of households in public and social housing.

As mentioned previously, the **Urban Growth Development Corporation** emerged from the amalgamation of the powers of several different agencies. Sydney Metropolitan Development Authority, which had taken over the powers and responsibilities of the Redfern-Waterloo Authority, was merged into Urban Growth by the NSW Government. Urban Growth also took on the powers of Landcom, the government corporation previously responsible for land releases on the fringe of the city, to facilitate growth. The remit of Urban Growth signalled a change in direction away from urban sprawl and towards redevelopment on inner-city areas. Urban Growth has since undergone some changes in its structure, and is working with the Land and Housing Corporation to plan the development of Waterloo. Urban Growth also has responsibility for facilitating development of the Metro Quarter site.

The **City of Sydney** would, in the absence of the State Significant Precinct designation, be the planning authority responsible for managing and approving development in Waterloo. However, the designation of Waterloo as a State Significant Precinct removed the council as the principal planning authority, instead handing their authority for Waterloo to state government agencies. The Lord Mayor, Clover Moore, expressed concern about the redevelopment plans on

multiple occasions, with her concerns relating in particular to the proposed density uplift for the site (City of Sydney, 2018).

5.3.2 Non-government agencies and organisations

Inner Sydney Voice—previously known as the Inner Sydney Regional Council for Social Development—is a peak body for community and social service organisations in the south Sydney area. Inner Sydney Voice received funding from the Land and Housing Corporation to hire a Capacity Building Officer to deliver a program of workshops to build resident capacity to engage with the government on the redevelopment.

Counterpoint Community Services is a community development agency run from the Factory Community Centre in Waterloo. Counterpoint is located in the middle of the Waterloo public housing estate, and has played an integral role in supporting the community there—in particular through its Redfern Waterloo Housing Communities Program, which coordinates the Neighbourhood Advisory Boards that represent tenants, and coordinates events and support programs for the local community. They also support a range of other community groups and associations, including RedWatch, discussed further below. Counterpoint hosted a Community Development Officer who was employed specifically to coordinate activities related to the redevelopment, funded by the NSW Land and Housing Corporation. Counterpoint supported numerous arts and community development projects related to the redevelopment, including *Turning Towers*, the theatre performance I discuss in detail in Chapter 11. In late 2018, the Department of Family and Community services notified Counterpoint that they would no longer be funded to deliver the Housing Communities Program, despite having done so for 14 years.

Redfern Legal Centre provides legal services for poor and marginalised people in South Sydney, and has been doing so since 1977. The organisation was the first community legal service in NSW. It provides assistance for disadvantaged community members across a range of legal issues, including tenancy and welfare issues, financial matters and police complaints. The Centre is supported by a number of government funding programs and agencies, as well as through pro bono support of commercial law firms. The City of Sydney recently provided funding to the Redfern Legal Centre to support Millers Point tenants with their forced relocation from inner-city public housing, and again pledged funds to support Waterloo tenants in managing their relocation.

The **Waterloo Neighbourhood Advisory Board** is a committee

comprised of representatives from Waterloo's 11 public housing precincts (each high-rise tower is counted as a 'precinct', as are each of the street blocks of walk-up apartments). These groups were formed to represent tenant voices to the NSW Department of Family and Community Services and to the Land and Housing Corporation. The Neighbourhood Advisory Board has been coordinated by Counterpoint as part of the Housing Communities Project, however it remains unclear who will take this responsibility in future, given the Government's decision to discontinue funding for Counterpoint.

5.3.3 Activism and protest

In addition to the government and non-government organisations described above, a number of activist organisations were active in the Waterloo community in relation to the redevelopment. I introduce these organisations and their activities in greater detail later in Chapter 7. I provide a brief overview here for context.

WeLiveHere is a project aiming to capture the stories of the residents of Waterloo. Led by artist Clare Lewis, a private resident of Waterloo, it aims to document the stories of residents that are soon to be displaced from Waterloo. The campaign involved a light installation in the towers, as well as a documentary, *There Goes Our Neighbourhood* (Lewis, 2018), aired on Australia's national public broadcaster in November 2018.

RedWatch formed in 2003 in response to the planned redevelopment of the area through the Redfern Waterloo Authority. RedWatch was established to provide a check—to act as an observer—for the government's activities in Redfern, Eveleigh, Darlington and Waterloo (Rogers, 2013). It coordinates monthly meetings to provide opportunities for residents to remain updated about key issues in the area, with a particular focus on planning and development issues. The membership of RedWatch is comprised of a mix of public tenants, private residents and local community organisations.

The **Waterloo Public Housing Action Group** formed in response to the announcement of the redevelopment of Waterloo. Comprised of a core group of around a dozen public housing residents, the group formed to protest the redevelopment and advocate for residents' interests, including pushing for adequate government consultation with tenants. They were supported by a broader group of tenants who were not regular attendees at meetings, and a number of non-resident members such as myself who contributed to the group in various ways. They began meeting weekly in early 2016. Much of this thesis focuses on my observations of the public housing action group. They became a focal point for resistance and activism against the redevelopment.

Having provided an overview of the case study and of my research project through Part 1, I will move into Part 2 of this thesis, in which I undertake an analytics of government and resistance. Building on the theoretical framework I described in Chapter 2, I apply Dean's analytics of government to understand the redevelopment program. I then turn this same lens upon the activism that occurred at Waterloo, developing an analytics of resistance as a means of coming to understand how resistance to neoliberal governmental programs might take place.

Part 2: Governmentality and resistance

Chapter 6.An analytics of government

The redevelopment of Waterloo is a sprawling and complex process of government. In this chapter, I identify the specific ways in which the government of Waterloo is made possible through the production of a range of governmental discourses and practices.

While Foucault's lectures published as *The Birth of Biopolitics* (Foucault, 2004) shed light on his thinking around the art of (neo)liberal government, he provided almost no detail on how we might actually go about undertaking an analysis of governmentality. Mitchell Dean, in his seminal book *Governmentality* (Dean, 2010), outlines a means of undertaking 'an analytics of government'[14] that provides something of a method for study governmentality.

Dean's analytics of government is concerned with analysis of the *specific* conditions under which particular arrangements of power emerge, exist and change (2010, p. 30). Following Foucault, he is not interested in treating instances of government as 'ideal types' but rather is concerned with the singularities of governing (Dean, 2010, p. 31).

Undertaking an analytics of government is an attempt to show how the taken-for-granted aspects of government are not entirely self-evident—it involves working to remove the 'naturalness' of how things are done (Dean, 2010, p. 38). This approach involves pulling apart the ways in which particular things or people become targeted as the object of governance, and encourages an interest in how they are then constituted and governed in particular ways made possible through regimes of knowledge and practice.

An analytics of government is a particularly useful approach for unpacking the complexities and nuances of a form of power concerned

[14] 'An analytics of government' may feel like a general term, but I use it throughout this thesis in the same specific way as Dean: to describe a particular approach (outlined throughout this section) to studying government that adopts an understanding of power consistent with that involved in Foucault's concept of governmentality.

with the *conduct of conduct*. A key advantage of an analytics of government is the ways in which it encourages a focus on 'power as a process' (Korosteleva, 2016, p. 367), allowing scholars to capture multiple stages of power's production. A strength of the approach is its *relational* conception of power, as demonstrated by Korosteleva's analysis of European Union and Russian involvement in the Ukrainian conflict (Korosteleva, 2016, p. 367), in which she draws out how these power relations involve processes of subjection that produce both the self and the other. Further, the framework's emphasis on the fragility and contestability of government, opens the analysis up for an emphasis on resistance and alternative possibilities (Korosteleva, 2016).

The application of an analytics of government can serve to challenge dominant understandings of government. Ettlinger, for example, examines nursing home care and its costs in the US, exploring how insufficient care is a product of neoliberal rationalities and strategies, rather than an inherent cost of care (Ettlinger, 2017). Through analysis of dominant governing rationalities and strategies, she builds towards an exploration of how such strategies might be resisted.

I am aware that this chapter presents a focus that is almost entirely on dominant regimes. I am eager not to repeat the tendency of governmentalities works to focus entirely on practices of rule, followed by a brief post-script about resistance. I had originally planned to focus *only* on resistance in this thesis, to avoid reifying dominant governmentalities. However, resistance is 'imminent and situated in the antagonism of strategies' and therefore an analysis of resistance first requires an analysis of governance (Ettlinger, 2017, p. 109). Undertaking an analytics of government is a way to explore the dominant governmentalities without reifying power or government because it demonstrates contingencies and challenges the taken-for-granted: it involves demonstrating that things are *not as necessary* as they might be made to seem.

O'Malley, Weir and Shearing argue that there is a tendency to characterise programs of government 'as though they can be captured between successive implementations and failures' (O'Malley et al., 1997, p. 512). Governing programs do not exist in a place prior to resistance nor do they have some 'true form' upon which resistance acts. For the purposes of writing up this analysis, it is useful to distinguish between the analytics of government and that of resistance—hence the focus in this chapter on rationalities of government, and in the following on rationalities of resistance. Arifi and Späth (2018) similarly conduct an analytics of both government and resistance to understand how a brown coal power station in Kosovo is governed and resisted. They apply Dean's analytics to explore how government and resistance are constituted. However, their work is markedly limited in scope, and their tabulation of results

suggests a simple comparative approach that does not speak to the complexities of power as understood from this Foucauldian perspective, nor of a relational orientation that might highlight how government and resistance are mutually constitutive, productive and dynamic.

There are four key dimensions of an analytics of government as developed by Dean, which I follow here as a means of exploring neoliberal governmentality around housing in New South Wales (NSW). The four dimensions are:

- **Visibilities**: Forms of visibility, ways of seeing and perceiving
- **Knowledge**: Distinctive ways of thinking and questioning, with definite vocabularies and procedures for the production of truth
- **Subjectivities**: Characteristic ways of forming subjects and selves
- **Technologies**: Specific ways of acting, intervening and directing, made up of rationalities, relying on mechanisms, techniques and technologies (Dean, 2010, p. 33).

In this chapter I explore the answer to my first research question: 'How is the redevelopment of Waterloo governed?' I apply these four dimensions as a means of exploring how particular courses of action become possible, legitimate and inevitable.

6.1 Forms of visibility

A key starting point for an analytics of government is the identification and examination of the way in which specific activities of government are called into question: that is, the ways in which government problematises people, things and places (Dean, 2010, p. 33).

To govern, argues Rose (1999), it is necessary to render visible the space over which government is to be exercised. Government is an activity that brings particular arrangements of things into view as policy problems in need of governmental attention. Part of the objective of an analytics of government is to identify which arrangements of things are brought into view, and what effects these particular problematisations have. We might think of this as identifying the 'fields of visibility' that make it possible to picture who and what is to be governed and how (Dean, 2010, p. 41).

There are an almost infinite number of possibilities that are ignored in the process of bringing a specific arrangement of things into view. We should remember this in order to see that the policy problems that

we take for granted are *not as necessary* as they might seem. Different fields of visibility are rendered in different settings and according to various disciplinary knowledges and regimes of truth. For example, a clinical medical practice presupposes a field of visibility in the body, whereas the public health locates the individual body within social and political space, and brings the level of the population into visibility (Dean, 2010, p. 41).

To problematise is to bring something into a field where it may be attended to by government response and action. To make something visible as a 'problem' usually involves constituting it as a result of a particular set of causes that lead us to a particular solution. *How* people, spaces or things are brought into view matters, because such discursive constructions feed into the ways in which solutions are then brought into view. Governing involves establishing a realm in which certain possibilities are clear while others are obscured, never exhaustively determining a subject's possibilities but working to *obscure* them (Davidson, 2011, p. 30).

In this section, I discuss the ways in which the Waterloo redevelopment project comes into view. I do so with a view to understanding how Waterloo is rendered such that the redevelopment might emerge as a possible policy response. Closely related to ways in which the redevelopment appears are the ways in which social housing *itself* is brought into view in this neoliberal rationality. Rather than appearing as, say, a policy response to a housing crisis, social housing appears as a 'resource' to be carefully distributed: 'social housing remains a scarce resource where the number of applicants exceeds the number of available dwellings' (NSW Department of Family and Community Services, 2014, p. 6). This brings social housing into view not as a program that might grow and change with demand and in response to crisis but as a finite resource which must be carefully and frugally distributed. This view of social housing provides the broader field of visibility within which questions about the future of Waterloo are framed.

6.1.1 The state significant precinct

Though the Waterloo redevelopment project is taking place on a neighbourhood scale, the field of visibility within which it appears is at the level of the state—and in particular the state in its relation with the global market.

Rogers discusses the ways in which zoning technologies are deployed to 'rezone' public housing estates in economic terms in relation to global markets (Rogers, 2014, p. 120). Rogers describes the use of notions such as the 'global city' as part of a 'scalar reorganisation' of the city 'toward the global' (Rogers, 2014, p. 115). Notions such as

'Global Sydney' are an attempt to rescale Sydney, to 'rezone' the city's urban spaces in the context of a global market (Rogers, 2014, p. 118). Although Rogers does not use the notion of 'fields of visibility', what he is talking of here is the deployment of discursive technologies that re-construct a space in terms of its relation to global economic processes and its role in the city's relation to these global processes. By bringing these spaces into visibility at the level of the metropolitan scale, and by emphasising this level's relation to the global market, Rogers argues, the public housing estate emerges in its relation to the global market.

Similarly, in Waterloo, various strategies are deployed that see Waterloo emerge at the level of the city and state. Key among these strategies is the 'state significant precinct' designation of the site.

In May 2017, the Waterloo site was designated a 'state significant precinct' through state planning legislation. The state significant designation is a legislative mechanism that allows the state government—rather than the local government, which would ordinarily be the primary planning authority in charge of overseeing the future of the site—to make planning decisions about the use of the land. Sites designated in this way are deemed to have 'economic, environmental or social significance for the state', and the purpose of the designation is 'to facilitate service delivery outcomes for a range of public services … or redevelopment of major sites no longer appropriate or suitable for public purposes' (NSW Government, 2018b). Through this designation, the Waterloo site is deemed to be 'of state importance in achieving key government policy objectives, particularly those relating to increasing delivery of housing and jobs and the renewal of social housing' (NSW Department of Planning and Environment, 2018, p. 5).

The designation of the site as a 'state significant' precinct is relevant to it emerging within a particular field of visibility. By using legislative mechanisms to turn this site into a place of 'state significance', the State Government works to transform the estate's function within the city. No longer is this merely a local place of home and community, it becomes a site that plays some kind of wider role in the city and the state. By introducing this field of visibility, the redevelopment of Waterloo becomes about the distribution of housing and population, rather than local experiences of place. This serves to undermine the importance of local perspectives and experiences, instead making important the way in which the area is integrated into and contributes to the flows of the city as a whole. Further, by designating the site in this way, the Government is also signalling that the site is 'no longer appropriate or suitable' for its former public purpose (NSW Government, 2018b), and must be transformed.

This state significant precinct nomination changes who can govern the

space, and in doing so alters which set of rules, policies and pieces of legislation might be brought into play. Not only does this designation the change the way it is addressed in a regulatory sense, it also transforms the field of visibility in which the site emerges as a policy problem, linking it to state-level economic development and growth. It emerges as a site situated within a node of the global economy, a crucial piece of the puzzle which, as Rogers notes, due to its obsolescence in the global city, is problematised as holding back the city from its progress (Rogers, 2014).

6.1.2 Social mix

Foucault was interested in the biopolitical: in the ways in which governmental attention is focused at the level of the population (Foucault, 2004a; Gordon, 1991). Liberal governmentality tends to bring problems into view—and manage them—at the population level.

The notion of 'circulation' of people, things and capital across urban space is a particularly crucial component of the 'conduct of conduct' in liberal and neoliberal contexts (Usher, 2014). Neoliberal urban governance is concerned with facilitating 'good' circulation and preventing 'bad' circulation. Rose, quoted in Bulley (2016, p. 244) argues that cities are a 'problem' for government as well as a 'permanent incitement' to govern. The art of government is concerned with 'making possible, guaranteeing and ensuring circulations: the circulation of people, merchandise, air, etcetera' (Foucault, 2004b, p. 29). Rogers suggests that this emphasis on circulation and flow is particularly heavy in the global city, noting that in Sydney's metropolitan spatial planning the 'global city' is represented in terms of temporal and spatial relationships with other major cities around the world, as well as in terms of its internal flows and connections (Rogers, 2014).

'Circulation' is relevant to the ways in which 'social mix' policies emerge within a particular field of visibility created through government. Social mix is a key strategy in the government of urban space through which public housing estates come to be conceptualised as problems that relate to the distribution of populations across space. The agglomeration of poor people in inner city public housing might be considered 'bad' circulation—that is, the inadequate distribution of population across space. Through strategies that make visible not the problem of disadvantage itself, but rather its concentrations in urban spaces, social mix policies correlate to a field in which the *agglomeration* of poor households emerges as the problem which policy must address.

Social mix policies are made possible through the emergence of the notion of 'neighbourhood effects'—the idea that poverty and

deprivation are caused, or at least worsened, through concentrations of disadvantaged households in urban areas such as public housing projects. In this conception, it is the geographic distribution of numbers of disadvantaged households that becomes the problem requiring policy attention.

This notion of neighbourhood effects has not merely had impacts within social sciences, it has come to shape large-scale housing policy, such as both the Moving to Opportunity and HOPE VI policies across the US that have seen tens of thousands of public housing residents relocated and their projects demolished (Slater, 2013b, p. 369). It is a guiding concept in social housing policy rationality in NSW, too, with the Future Directions policy claiming that 'subsidised housing has the potential to entrench disadvantage' (NSW Government, 2016, p. 7), due at least in part, in this problematisation, to its tendency to concentrate disadvantaged households. Places, such as Waterloo, are problematised as having 'bad' circulation—imagined 'sticky places'[15] that trap poor people (and, the flip side: these places allow middle class people to slip right by).

A Communities Plus program brochure promises that the Waterloo redevelopment program will 'develop new mixed communities where social housing blends in with private and affordable housing' (NSW Government, 2017, p. 1). The 'underlying principles' of the Waterloo redevelopment are a 'housing mix approach' (NSW Government, 2018c, p. 2), and the redevelopments will aim for 'more integrated' communities by aiming for a 70:30 ratio of private to social housing (NSW Government, 2016, p. 9).

The solution that emerges is one which corresponds to this problematisation of concentration: social mix. In general, social mix policies address the agglomeration of households belonging to the same economic class (Slater, 2013b)—as this follows the neighbourhood effects thesis on poverty and disadvantage. Increasingly, housing tenure has become a proxy for economic class, and public housing tenancies have become the object of social mix policies. Of course, only concentrations of certain populations are deemed problematic: while the government appears to be interested in dispersing amalgamations of particular groups, it is only concerned to do so in areas of disadvantage, and is not concerned with identifying and addressing concentrations of *advantage*. Further, the problematisation of concentrations of particular tenure types, is never turned upon concentrations of owner-occupied housing that are undiversified by the presence of social housing.

[15] 'Sticky places' has been a term used in economic geography to describe places where industrial investment 'sticks' (Markusen, 1996), but here I use it to describe places that poor households 'stick to'.

It is through this problematisation of bad circulation that Waterloo emerges as what I have called here a 'sticky place' for disadvantaged populations—and therefore one in need of a policy solution that addresses this concentration of poor and publicly-tenured households.

6.2 Forms of knowledge

For Foucault, knowledge sits in a fundamental relationship to power. Knowledge and power have a mutually productive relation: systems of power produce and sustain knowledge, at the same time as knowledge induces and extends the effects of power (Foucault, 1988, p. 133).

The Foucauldian concern with knowledge is not about 'facts' as such, but rather what comes to *count as a fact* under a particular regime (Foucault, 2004a). Rather than asking 'what is said?', this approach to discourse analysis is interested in asking: how did these things become sayable? It is a question, argues Foucault, of what governs statements—how do things become, for example, scientifically acceptable? (Foucault, 1988). I am interested in exploring the types of discourse which society 'accepts and makes function as true' (Foucault, 1988, p. 131). State agencies produce and proliferate forms of knowledge that enable them to act upon the governed reality (Lemke, 2007). Undertaking an analytics of government encourages an interest in the different ways that truth is produced through social, cultural and political practices (Dean, 2010).

We can examine regimes of knowledge best when we take up Foucault's provocation to 'suppose that universals do not exist' (Foucault, 2004a, p. 3)—when we do away with the taken for granted and look instead at how things come to be made to seem necessary. Pasquino (1991), for example, explores the ways in which the government of criminals and criminality changed thanks to the emergence of 'criminology' as a domain of knowledge—a way of understanding those who commit crimes and of classifying and governing them. Similarly, Hacking explores the way that statistical knowledge has helped 'determine the forms of laws about society and the character of social facts' (1991, p. 181)—that is, statistical knowledge is part of the domain that makes it possible to govern society in particular ways.

As noted by Murray Li, forms of knowledge are relevant to the process of 'rendering technical' (2007, p. 7). Rendering a subject technical bounds and characterises a field for intervention, and anticipates the kinds of interventions that particular experts might have to offer (Murray Li, 2007, p. 7). This process also determines who is rendered expert and who will become subject to expert direction (2007, p. 7).

Murray Li further notes that the process of rendering technical should be viewed as a project, not a secure accomplishment—it is always in process, and 'the questions that experts exclude or attempt to contain do not simply go away' (2007, p. 10). I attend to this contestation regarding forms of knowledge in later chapters, particularly in Chapter 8, focused on an analytics of resistance.

In this section, I explore the forms of thought, knowledge and expertise employed in practices of governing, and ask how these practices of government give rise to particular forms of truth—and, the inverse: how knowledge renders particular issues and domains governable (Dean, 2010). I explore two domains of knowledge relevant to the redevelopment of Waterloo: urban planning knowledge and market knowledge, and consider how these domains facilitate the government of Waterloo such that the redevelopment emerges as a possible—and even inevitable—response.

6.2.1 Urban planning knowledge

Both the redevelopment of Waterloo and the broader notion of 'social mix' draw upon urban planning knowledge as means of understanding urban problems and associated solutions. My focus here is not *what* urban planning has to say about social housing, but to identify the forms of thought and procedures in urban planning knowledge that 'generate specific forms of truth' (Lawrence-Zúñiga, 2015, p. 124) about social housing and its redevelopment.

Urban planning constructs urban policy problems as technical issues, to be addressed using a series of spatial technologies. Problems and their solutions can be evaluated, mapped, planned, and regulated using zoning and design controls. Urban planning knowledge is primarily concerned with spatial information and with problems relating to the location, distribution and circulation of people and capital throughout space in the city. A particular understanding of time is relevant here, too. As Rogers argues, urban planning is premised on a conceptualisation of time as constantly moving towards 'betterment'—a future that is presented as better than today, towards which progress is linear and achieved through the application of urban planning technologies that direct us toward an 'end point' (2014, p. 155).

Planners understand that place can be 'made', as the recent explosions of planning consultants claiming to be 'place-makers' can attest. Places, then, can also be *unmade*: urban planning knowledge gives rise to a series of evaluative mechanisms that allow a space to be identified as 'under-used' or obsolete and determine its readiness for renewal (Rogers, 2014).

The role of this knowledge in the redevelopment of Waterloo is central. Residents were deemed to require an education in this urban planning knowledge in order to participate in the consultation process. A series of 'capacity building' programs aimed to prepare residents to engage with professionals about urban planning questions. These included a workshop on 'planning for non-planners' that taught participants much of the technical jargon and procedures of planning; a workshop on social mix, to discuss the logic of these policies in redevelopments; and workshops on density, human service provision and other specialised and technical matters.

Rather than retaining planning knowledge as the exclusive domain of experts, the Communities Plus program encourages Waterloo residents to adopt this mode of understanding the world. The imbrication of residents in the application of urban planning knowledge to understand the future of Waterloo brings the tenants into a setting in which questions are of a technical—rather than political—nature.

Arrangements of things in space

Space, within urban planning discourse, is understood in mathematical—or Cartesian—terms. Place, in planning discourse, is less frequently understood as experienced, emotional, loaded with history, meanings or attachments.

Here, I am speaking generally about planning knowledge, and acknowledge that there are substantial local variations, reflecting distinct local contexts. The NSW Department of Planning has organising logics that 'produce, reproduce and structure' the 'spatial and temporal knowledge systems for their vision of the city' (Rogers, 2014, p. 116). Urban conflicts are understood, in this discursive context, as questions relating to the arrangement of land uses throughout space, and associated design and technical questions such as density, over-shadowing, set-backs, building heights, or parking provision. Social problems are examined by planners in so far as they can be mapped, analysed, and addressed through technologies of spatial redistribution of populations and capital—in this way, the concentration of disadvantage becomes conceptualised as a spatial one, rather than as an issue of social inequality. Ong (2006, p. 77) notes that urban planning knowledge promotes the 'differential regulation of populations' who can be connected/disconnected from global networks of capital.

The solution to urban problems, then, is understood to lie in the (re)arrangement of various land-uses and tenure types across space. Mapping is a key discursive tool within urban planning. As argued by Lawrence-Zuñiga, maps are not neutral tools for decoding the world (2014)—maps do not merely *represent* space but *produce* particular ways of knowing space. The *Waterloo Redevelopment Options*

Brochure provides residents with a series of maps, as demonstrated in Figure 10, to indicate possible redevelopment scenarios for Waterloo (NSW Government, 2018c). The three maps are intended to indicate options for the future of the Waterloo neighbourhood. These maps have several effects. Firstly, these visions are presented as neutral mapping exercises, with planners seemingly adopting the role of translators, mapping the solutions for problems identified by stakeholders. These maps are posited as neutral technologies for interpretation, rather than as technologies that work to cement the role of urban planning knowledge in realising a particular vision for the future of Waterloo.

Secondly, by reducing questions about Waterloo to a series of maps in which the location of different land uses (residential, commercial, community services) and their relative density across urban space, the NSW Government transforms conflicts and clashes around the future of the neighbourhood into a simple series of choices to be made about the arrangement of land uses in Cartesian space. The emphasis on the different 'options' also indicates that spatial arrangements are expected to be the primary aspect of the redevelopment with which residents are concerned. The use of urban planning knowledge here transforms a potential class conflict or a debate about rights to the city into a game of Tetris in which residents are invited to participate in the shuffling of buildings, streets and parks across an ostensibly blank space in order to shape the area's future.

Figure 10: Map from the Redevelopment Options Brochure.
Source: NSW Government.

This concern with arrangement of things in space links to a focus on mobility within planning knowledge. The spatial logics of planning knowledge normalise and prioritise mobility, competition and growth, and spatial planning in many regions is premised on an assumption of growth management (Daly, 2016). The redevelopment of Waterloo is constructed in planning documents as facilitating improved mobility and connectivity of the city, its people and capital. Redevelopment communications emphasise Waterloo's improved transport infrastructure, focused on providing 'integrated transport options' (NSW Department of Family and Community Services, 2017, p. 1) that will 'make Waterloo a desired destination' (NSW Government, 2018c, p. 4). In other words, through planning's focus on mobility, Waterloo becomes understand as a place through which people will move, and must be worked on in order that people will be attracted to move through it.

Expert technical knowledge

Planning knowledge places planners in a 'neutral' position that ostensibly does not 'take sides' (Lawrence-Zúñiga, 2015) but rather applies technical knowledge to make decisions about the use of urban spaces. Market-centric logic is deployed by planners as a set of

'seemingly neutral' analytical differentiators used to 'rezone' the city along particular lines (Rogers, 2014, p. 116). Technical expertise are drawn upon to construct, analyse and manage space as technical problems that require expert solutions. The designation of Waterloo as a state significant precinct triggered a requirement to undertake a series of studies. The studies specified by the Department of Planning and Environment (2018) for the Waterloo renewal draw on expert knowledge across an array of fields, including transport planning, engineering, social sciences, public health, to confer legitimacy on urban planning decisions.

The emphasis on community consultation and deliberative planning further emphasises this 'neutral' and expert position of planners. Planners and officials are cast as impartial brokers in deliberative planning that ostensibly involves citizens in the planning process (Daly, 2016). Indeed, at Waterloo, one NSW Government representative, employed by the Land and Housing Corporation, described himself and his colleagues as 'participants' [field notes, Waterloo Redevelopment Group meeting, 21 June 2017] in the process of planning the redevelopment, putting forward the NSW Government and its agencies as merely neutral players in a technical process. This framing of the process as a technical one in which the Government is a 'participant' obscures the significant power differentials that exist within the diverse group of 'participants'.

Aesthetics

In addition to this focus on spatial knowledge and circulations, urban planning is reliant on aesthetic codes. Lawrence-Zúñiga notes that 'visual codes' such as design guidelines that use drawings and photographs are demonstrative of the growing use of aesthetic knowledge in urban planning (Lawrence-Zúñiga, 2015). Lawrence-Zúñiga focuses on the ways in which these guidelines are used to govern outcomes within the planning approval process (Lawrence-Zúñiga, 2014). She explores how matters of taste and 'whiteness' in architecture become governable through the application of design guidelines—a technology that uses aesthetic ways of knowing to encourage conformity with a stylised vision of the 'proper' way to build in a city which conforms with the tastes of white preservationists but runs counter to that of immigrants. Similarly, Ghertner (2010) describes how urban planners and other regulators use aesthetics as a way of determining what kind of dwellings belong in the global city, using photographic evidence of slums to determine what is inappropriate in New Delhi. The racialised and class-based aspects of urban planning knowledge are comprehensively addressed by Fincher et al (2014), who note that planning—in addition to often being blind to racial difference or conflict—often attempts to manage, commodify and regulate racial and ethnic differences in cities.

Aesthetic preferences, often linked to certain socio-cultural or political leanings, become normative under the guise of 'neutral' urban design guidelines and zoning, where they become technical instruments used to demarcate the use of space (Lawrence-Zúñiga, 2015).

In Waterloo, the government itself has assessed the modernist multi-storey apartment buildings as having decades of useful life remaining (Redfern-Waterloo Authority, 2011). Despite this, these buildings are to be demolished as part of the redevelopment. These towers have powerful aesthetic symbolism as icons of the Keynesian welfare state. Further, they *look* like public housing—that is, to anyone familiar with the aesthetic vernacular of Sydney's urban landscape, and that of NSW more generally, these are easily identifiable as 'Housing Commission' properties. These buildings, then, sit at odds with the aesthetic vision the Government has for the redevelopment, in which social housing 'blends in' with private housing (NSW Government, 2017, p. 1).

The 'artist's impressions' that accompany the 'options' for Waterloo (see Figure 11) suggest the Government's vision for Waterloo looks much more like the redeveloped Green Square area—the enormous area of redeveloped industrial land to Waterloo's south—than like the modernist estate that sits there presently. This aesthetic reshaping works to make Waterloo more palatable for reinvestment by the market, creating an image for the future of Waterloo that looks privatised and profitable.

Figure 11: Illustrations from the Waterloo Metro Quarter website showing Waterloo's future. Source: Urban Growth Development Corporation NSW.

6.2.2 Market knowledge

In neoliberal contexts, market and economic knowledge are crucial aspects of governmental rationalities. Dean argues that neoliberalism 'generalises the economic form' to make it a 'principle of decipherment of social relationships and individual behaviour', that is, the economic becomes 'a principle to evaluate governmental action' (Dean, 2010, p. 72). The market is understood to provide 'true' costs, and therefore comes to constitute a 'standard of truth' which enables us to evaluate governmental practices (Foucault, 2004a, p. 32). Under this regime of knowledge, the only 'true' social policy is economic growth (Foucault, 2004a). Government programs are evaluated on the extent to which they mimic private market mechanisms, and become targets for the establishment of 'quasi' or 'artificial' markets (Dean, 2010).

Reviews such as the NSW Audit Office report into 'making best use' of social housing (Audit Office of NSW, 2013, p. 1) and the Independent Pricing and Regulatory Tribunal's review of rent setting (IPART, 2017) are exemplary of these neoliberal efforts to scrutinise government action using market knowledge as the locus for performance. These agencies—the Audit Office and the Tribunal—use market knowledge to assess policies and programs in terms of their efficiency and the return on investment they provide to the taxpayer. The reports both suggest reforms to public housing governance that would see it remodelled to more closely mimic the private housing market.

Market knowledge facilitates the NSW Government in problematising the social housing sector as a space in which 'government dominates' (NSW Government, 2016, p. 6), and it suggests reforms which would see more room for 'private and non-government sector initiative and innovation' (NSW Government, 2016, p. 6). The Communities Plus

program involves private-public partnerships to deliver social housing, and also aims to see that social housing 'blends in with private housing' (NSW Government, 2017, p. 2)—ensuring that the delivery and management model, as well as the final product, look much like private market housing.

This market knowledge understands public land and infrastructure as assets which might be leveraged, leased or sold. Social programs such as public housing are understood as investments. Taxpayers are seen as investors, deserving of value for money. We see this construction of social programs in financial terms in evidence in the Tribunal's report, which recommends a more 'sustainable' funding model so that social housing might become 'a relatively low risk investment' (IPART, 2017, p. 5). The IPART report imagines tax payers as investors deserving 'best value' for their 'contributions' to the social housing system (IPART, 2017, p. 4). Under-utilised assets such as the Waterloo estate must be capitalised upon through sale or lease allowing 'value capture', investment must be attracted through infrastructure upgrades—as is the case in Waterloo with the new Metro railway station (NSW Government, 2018c).

This market knowledge, then, frames Waterloo as an underperforming asset that requires reconfiguration using market principles to allow it to realise its potential value. The housing in the redeveloped Waterloo is to be either private market housing, or social housing that is managed through a model that looks far closer to private housing than it does to existing public housing in NSW.

6.3 Subjectivities

For Foucault, the question of subjectivity was central. Although his interest in power has been some of his most influential work, he came to think about power through a focus on subjectivity (Foucault, 1982), which he sees as a product of power. This focus on subjectivity is present in his thinking around governmentality: Foucault argues that, rather than ask ourselves how the sovereign appears, we should be asking questions about the (neo)liberal subject—how subjects are 'gradually and progressively constituted' (Foucault, 1988, p. 97).

An analytics of government is concerned, then, with the kinds of subjectivities that are produced through governmental practice and rationality. We should try to discover how it is that subjects are gradually and progressively constituted through a multiplicity of organisms, forces, energies, and desires (Foucault, 1988, p. 97). The individual is an effect of power—and at the same time one of power's

prime articulations (Foucault, 1988, p. 98). Dean argues that applying an analytics of government should prompt us to ask questions such as: 'what forms of self and identity are presupposed by various practices of government?', 'what statuses, capacities, attributes and orientations are assumed of those who exercise authority and those who are governed?', and 'how are their capacities and attributes fostered? (Dean, 2010, p. 43).

Technologies of government do not repress subjectivities. Rather, they are productive: they bring into being or illuminate certain subjectivities. This is not to say that actual people are products of government, but rather that certain sets of subjectivities are made visible while others are made invisible: regimes of government do not *determine* forms of subjectivity, instead, they elicit, promote, foster and facilitate various capacities, qualities, etc. (Dean, 2010, p. 43). These governmental practices around subjectivities are successful to the extent that agents 'come to experience themselves' through these ideas that are promoted and presupposed (Dean, 2010, p. 44). Governmental technologies have a role to play not merely in reifying these subjectivities but in constituting them. Cruikshank notes that, for example, the subject of the 'welfare cheat' is made 'real' through strategies of welfare-fraud prevention (Cruikshank, 1999, p. 112).

McKee argues that a key strength of the governmentality approach relates to the ways it illuminates how the governable subject is discursively constituted and produced (McKee, 2009a, p. 468). Individuals in neoliberal governmentality are both the object and target of governmental action *and* a partner or accomplice of government (Burchell, 1993, p. 271). A governmentality approach helps illuminate this dual role not as a contradiction but as a fundamental aspect of neoliberal government. The techniques of government involve individuals adopting practical relations to themselves with regards to the exercise of freedom in appropriate ways (Burchell, 1993, p. 273).

Throughout this section I explore the production of subjectivities through both the government of social housing in NSW and through the discursive context of the Waterloo redevelopment program. The citizen, viewed from this Foucauldian perspective, is not simply a participant in politics but is 'an effect and an instrument of political power' (Cruikshank, 1999, p. 5). In this section, I want to highlight the ways in which the Government produces subjectivities for social housing tenants that allow them to be governed in particular ways.

6.3.1 Responsible citizens, responsible tenants

Neoliberal social policy tends to involve efforts to devolve

responsibility for risks to the individual (Bevir, 2011). In order to successfully devolve this risk to individuals, government must be able to rely on subjects' capacity to self-govern towards governmental objectives, through producing citizens that are responsible, entrepreneurial and self-governing.

Neoliberal rationalities rely on the figure of the 'enterprising self', a free, self-responsible subject willing to take on its own risk and responsible for enhancing their own well-being (Bröckling et al., 2012). Lemke argues that a key feature of neoliberal rationality is the 'congruence that it endeavours to achieve' between a responsible and moral individual and an economic-rational individual (2002, p. 59).

Flint argues that the figure of the 'responsible tenant' is the basis for a 'new politics of behaviour' in the UK centred around managing the actions of those considered to be in need of reform (Flint, 2004b, p. 894). Evoking a conception of the citizen as an independent and self-responsible figure, policies and strategies targeted at changing tenant behaviour focus on a normalised vision of a 'good citizen' or 'good neighbour', which must be realised in order for full citizenship status to be achieved (Flint, 2004b).

Policy discourse around social housing in NSW paints tenants as citizens unable to take care of their own welfare. The *Future Directions* policy describes tenants as 'vulnerable', a category that is defined as including 'the elderly, people with a disability or severe and chronic mental health illness, carers with long term caring responsibilities and those experiencing drug and alcohol misuse and domestic and family violence' (NSW Government, 2016, p. 4). Tenants here are seen to be suffering some pathological deficiency that makes them unable to take responsibility for the management of their housing.

Future Directions says that private rental subsidies will be made available to 'adults with persistent low income *who are prepared to commit* to improving employment outcomes' (NSW Government, 2016, p. 16, emphasis added). The text implies that these tenants suffer poor employment outcomes because they are not 'prepared to commit' (NSW Government, 2016, p. 16). The policy also includes a range of measures aimed to change 'incentives' around employment to encourage improved employment outcomes for social housing tenants (NSW Government, 2016). These initiatives assume that tenants are behaving as economically rational citizens, who have chosen not to take up paid employment because of a range of financial disincentives for work. It further assumes that, were these incentives to change, tenants would make the economically rational decision to take up paid work. Such technologies work to construct the tenant simultaneously as an economically rational and an irresponsible citizen.

6.3.2 The deserving poor and the opportunity group

The notion of the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor has been present in discourses on poverty and disadvantage in a variety of contexts for centuries (Dean, 2010; Haworth & Manzi, 1999; Marston, 2000; Procacci, 1991). These categorisations work to produce two kinds of poor subjects: the first is the dependent—the 'deserving poor'. Though they are produced as an imperfect citizen, they are not stigmatised or subjected to the same technologies of the self as the second category of the poor: the undeserving poor.

The *Future Directions* policy centres around the categorisation of tenants into two groups: the 'safety net group' and the 'opportunity group' (NSW Government, 2016, p. 7). While the 'safety net group' is comprised of the 'the frail aged and people living with a disability or serious mental illness'—those identified as having 'real need' (NSW Government, 2016, p. 7)—the 'opportunity group' are those which the government deems dependent, and in need of reform and improvement.

This discursive construction assumes tenants must be lacking in one of two ways: either they belong to the 'safety net group' and are deemed permanently incapable of looking after themselves; these are something of a 'lost cause' group, a group of subjects that the government must resign themselves to looking after in one way or another. Alternatively, they belong to the 'opportunity group', a group only temporarily in need of assistance until such time as they begin to take responsibility for their actions and engage in an active citizenship.

The policy does not specify how it will be determined to which group a particular tenant belongs, beyond saying that the category would include families, young people and the unemployed. The policy does, however, propose a range of ways in which the opportunity group would be subjected to measures designed to manage their behaviour.

These measures include 'personal support plans', which tenants must use to make commitments to comply with workforce participation expectations, and new financial incentives for leaving social housing or finding employment (NSW Government, 2016). This category brings into being tenants who can be managed and guided not only in relation to their housing but in relation to their employment, education and behaviour.[16] These plans emerge as technologies of

[16] These categorisations do not appear to currently have operational sway. However, the State Government has made attempts to give these categories regulatory clout. The Government asked the NSW Independent Pricing and Regulatory Tribunal to consider differential rent policies for these groups as part

citizenship (Cruikshank, 1999) designed to engage tenants in their own self-government.

The 'opportunity group' and the 'safety net group' are not merely passive or neutral categories for classifying things. Nor are they tools of repression. They are, instead, productive technologies used to realise governmental rationalities. They create new subjectivities, new ways of relating to the self and of being governed. Specifically, the 'opportunity group' brings into being a group of tenants who need not be in social housing, who are only there due to their inability to take responsibility of their own lives.

The new subjectivity of the opportunity group also invites tenants to imagine themselves as having a different relation to their housing. This relation is temporary, rather than long-term or sustained, as the policy encourages members of this group to imagine themselves 'successfully transitioning' out of social housing and into the private market (NSW Government, 2016, p. 5). They are expected to see the support provided to them in the form of a subsidised tenancy as a time-limited service, contingent on their ability to take action to improve themselves.

The delineation of tenants into two groups allows the Government to stigmatise a certain group of tenants while acknowledging the important social welfare function that subsidised housing provides 'for those who need it'. This stigmatisation of tenants is a critical aspect of the rationalisation that produces social mix as a policy response.

The tenants of Waterloo—and indeed social housing in NSW more broadly—are constructed as deficient subjects in need of responsibilisation. Responsible subjects, in this rationality, are the employed, middle-class, self-responsible private tenants or homeowners of NSW. Producing these deficient social tenants in need of role models, then, helps pave the way for social mix to emerge as a correlative policy response, which would see middle-class households injected into Waterloo to serve as role models for the irresponsible tenants.

The construction of tenants as deficient citizens is not a sideshow to the redevelopment of Waterloo, but rather facilities the very implementation of the social mix policy. Social mix, here, emerges as

of its review of public housing rent models in the state (IPART, 2017). The Tribunal declined to do so, arguing that there was no compelling evidence in favour of such a policy, and also no means of determining who would be part of which group—especially as tenants' circumstances change over time (IPART, 2017, p. 16). The Tribunal's refusal to adopt these categories points to some heterogeneity within governmental institutions.

both a response to the problematisation of concentrations of poverty in space—as discussed previously—as well as to the emergence of tenants as irresponsible subjects in need of responsibilisation.

6.4 Technologies of government

My focus in this section is on the technical aspect of government, which refers to the means, mechanisms, procedures, technologies and vocabularies by which 'authority is constituted and rule accomplished' (Dean, 2010, p. 42). Technologies often impose limits on what it is possible to do—making certain things possible while delimiting others (Dean, 2010).

Understanding these facets of government as technologies of power transforms them from seeming to be neutral instruments for addressing pre-existing 'problems' to instruments wielded to achieve particular governmental ends. Viewing them as technologies of power, we can see how people and things are constituted in particular ways to make them solvable through government.

In Chapter 10, I focus on technologies of citizenship. These technologies of citizenship (as Cruikshank (1999) calls them) or of agency (as Dean (2010) calls them) are means of governing *through* the agency of the subject. Foucault was interested in how (neo)liberal government is involved in working with, not against, the agency of subjects to produce subjects that work towards governmental objectives (Foucault, 2004a). Cruikshank and others have illuminated the ways in which the emergence of empowerment and participation programs have involved an increasing emphasis towards the responsibilisation of citizens and an increasing expectation that they will be actively involved in their own self-government. These kinds of programs were on ample display in Waterloo, in the form of the capacity building and consultation/engagement programs that were run or funded by the NSW Government with the objective of increasing tenant participation in the redevelopment program. Rather than appearing as merely mechanisms for soliciting tenant input, when approached from a governmentalities perspective, these programs appear to be governmental technologies to produce self-governing citizens. These are critical technologies in the government of Waterloo, and as such I devote an entire chapter to them—and to the interaction between resistance efforts and these technologies—at a later point in the thesis.

In this section, I focus on two other key governmental technologies in play in the Waterloo redevelopment: community and the masterplan. These are far from the only technical aspects of government at play in Waterloo. What I want to do in focusing on these two technologies of

government is to show how a taken-for-granted concept such as 'community' is illuminated as a technique of government when viewed through a governmentality approach. Further, I aim to demonstrate the ways in which the 'masterplan' is not simply a neutral mechanism through which spatial plans can be made, but is in fact a technique of government used to produce particular futures for Waterloo through the use of technical and spatial processes.

6.4.1 Community

The discourse of 'community' has been on the rise in social policy in neoliberal states (Rose, 2007). Viewed with a Foucauldian lens, 'community', rather than simply referring to a pre-existing group of subjects, is a technology of government deployed to produce particular identities and to guide conduct (Flint, 2002, p. 632). In the context of power which governs at the level of population, the notion of community becomes the means through which self-government can be connected to the imperatives of good government (Rose, 2007). Community here is both a 'spatial scale for intervention' and a site of moral and ethical self-conduct (Flint, 2002, p. 613)—it 'emerges as both a territory and a technique' of government (Flint, 2002, p. 615).

'Ethopolitics' refers to attempts to shape the conduct of subjects by acting on their 'sentiments, beliefs and values'—that is, by acting on their ethics (Rose, 2007, p. 27). Community becomes a means by which a supposedly universal code for ethical living is produced, presented as 'uncontested and unanimously understood' (Flint, 2003, p. 616). Individuals are invited to self-govern, to conduct themselves appropriately towards self-improvement (Rose, 2007). In the social housing context, this notion of 'community' works to create conditional criteria for tenancy based on community norms that are specified from above (Flint, 2003, p. 623).

The notion of 'community' appears frequently in discourse around social housing reforms in NSW. 'Community' is used in particular in relation to anti-social behaviour management in social housing (NSW Government, 2016, p. 23). The community, as the locus for ethical conduct, is never acknowledged as simultaneously being the *source* of this anti-social behaviour. Rather, the community is a victim, 'affect[ed] and damage[d]' by the behaviour of tenants failing to adhere to this community standard (NSW Government, 2018a, p. 1).

'The community' is also imagined as an entity that deserves a voice in eviction proceedings, with the *Future Directions* policy recommending that the NSW Civil Appeals Tribunal make changes 'to give the community and neighbours a voice in the Tribunal process' (NSW Government, 2016, p. 23). This works to make the community appear as an entity having agency and interests that must be upheld

and protected through guiding and managing the behaviour of others. Further, community is invoked in terms of equity and fairness. The *Social Housing in NSW Discussion Paper* describes a 'fair social housing system' as one where 'tenants value the support they are receiving, by taking care of their dwelling, paying rent and contributing positively to their community' (NSW Department of Family and Community Services, 2014, p. 21). These discourse see 'community' invoked to establish an ethical norm to guide self-government.

At the same time as invoking community as an already-existing institution or space, these discourses construct community as an artefact that can be built through policy and programs. The state-wide program of renewal, 'Communities Plus', has key policy objectives are focused around *creating* a 'new mixed community' (NSW Department of Family and Community Services, 2017)—centring community as a key product of social housing renewal. There is focus within this program on building particular kinds of communities: 'integrated' or 'mixed' communities are the desired outcome of policy activity (NSW Government, 2016). Similarly, the *Future Directions* policy advocates a 'place-making approach to building communities' (NSW Government, 2016, p. 24), indicating that 'community' here is understood as at least partly an outcome arising through the (re)arrangement of people and things in space. The document claims that the introduction of 'Place Plans' will 'build a stronger and safer community with a positive identity' (NSW Government, 2016, p. 24), one in which 'more people feel safe and participate in their local community' (NSW Government, 2016, p. 7).

The Waterloo redevelopment program aims for a ratio of 70% private housing to 30% social and affordable housing on the redeveloped estate (NSW Department of Family and Community Services, 2015). The *Future Directions* policy posits that such a ratio will enable 'more integrated communities' (NSW Government, 2016, p. 9) and that diversifying tenure and social mix will lead to 'stable and sustainable' communities (NSW Department of Family and Community Services, 2015). It is unclear from where this 70/30 ratio emerges or why this has been selected by policy makers as the ideal mix for redeveloped estates, but it appears to be commonly utilised, especially in NSW (Darcy & Rogers, 2014; Rogers & Darcy, 2014). Community is constructed under this rationality as a thing that can be calculated and built through controlling the distribution of people through space: the objective of 'integrated communities' becomes an instrument for determining the social and demographic makeup of a space.

It is expected that social housing tenants living in 'vibrant and socio-economically diverse communities' will make decisions that lead to 'improved social and economic participation' (NSW Government, 2016, p. 6). The creation of mixed communities performs is intended

to establish a new community standard—an ethopolitical imperative—and an expectation that tenants will self-govern in order to conform to those new standards of conduct.

Community, here, emerges as both a pre-existing entity from which universal norms and behavioural expectations arise, at the same time as also emerging as something which will be built through the application of a calculable method for the distribution of things through space.

6.4.2 Masterplanning

Masterplanning and associated spatial strategic planning processes are technologies for transforming the destruction of an existing neighbourhood into a matter of technical expertise that is primarily oriented around questions of the arrangement of things in space.

Planning techniques play a role in actually constituting the domains that are to be governed (Murdoch, 2000). Murdoch describes the UK's 'urban capacity studies' as technologies of government that 're-present' urban areas, rendering spaces 'transparent' using survey techniques, and abstracting them through representation in numerical terms (Murdoch, 2004).

The designation of Waterloo as a 'state significant precinct' triggered requirements for a number of studies to be undertaken to inform the masterplanning process (NSW Department of Planning and Environment, 2018). These studies transform the neighbourhood's redevelopment into a technical matter, and are also the means by which the space becomes governable in particular ways: as Murdoch notes, the collection of statistics allows domains to be rendered 'visible, calculable and, therefore, governable' (Murdoch, 2000, p. 506).

As touched on earlier in this chapter with reference to urban planning knowledge, through positing urban questions as technical issues, planning techniques allow it to be assumed that at least some planning decisions are free from 'political bargaining' (Murdoch, 2000, p. 504). The technology of the masterplan serves to ensure that urban planning knowledge is the central means through which the estate is understood and truth determined. Questions of the future of Waterloo are rendered as technical issues to be answered with planning expertise.

Lawrence-Zúñiga shows how planning technologies can be used to transform socio-cultural conflicts between different ethnic groups into technical challenges that are addressed through urban design controls that have an appearance as technical and objective (Lawrence-Zúñiga, 2015). An enormous suite of controls that affect

the experience of the city are rendered technical matters to be determined by urban planning and design specialists, including zoning, developer contributions, and development controls such as gross floor area, development yields, building envelopes, building heights, and overshadowing. These controls will appear in a vast series of plans concerning Waterloo, including but certainly not limited to a public domain plan, subdivision plan, infrastructure plan, community facilities plan, staging plan and a building types plan (NSW Department of Planning and Environment, 2018).

On the metropolitan scale, planning technologies include the use of 'fuzzy' spatial imaginaries such as 'hubs', 'nodes', and 'networks' (Daly, 2016). These 'soft spaces' are technologies for rendering the city governable in different ways. They don't tend to be part of the 'practico-sensory' city (Rogers, 2014), that is, they aren't part of people's experiences of the city. Rather, these soft spaces are technologies deployed by planners to create seemingly contiguous spaces that can be planned in particular ways to meet governmental objectives.

The 'Global Arc' and the 'global economic corridor' identified in the NSW Government's metropolitan plan, *A plan for growing Sydney* (NSW Department of Planning and Environment, 2014), for example, are soft spaces that render functionally and geographically disparate parts of the city as coherent spaces for government in particular ways (for further exploration of the 'global arc' as soft space see Rogers (2014)). Similarly, the identification of a 'state significant precinct' and the 'Waterloo estate' serves to draw a line around a space to facilitate its government. As I will illuminate in Chapter 8, these lines do not necessarily correspond to lived experiences of the place or common understandings of the Waterloo estate and its boundaries. Rather, they serve to render these spaces available for governmental attention.

A key stage of the masterplanning process is the development of a series of 'options' for the future of Waterloo. These options were developed by a consultant employed by the Land and Housing Corporation, supposedly building on the input of residents gathered throughout the 'visioning' process. Figure 12 shows the redevelopment options.

The 'options' shared with the community (NSW Government, 2018c) present slightly different arrangements of things in space. Together, the three options serve to create a range of possible futures for the estate—to the exclusion of all others. A key aspect of governmental power is making certain futures appear possible while allowing others to be obscured. The masterplanning process serves to establish a series of possible futures for Waterloo, hiding the possibility of alternatives.

Figure 12: The three redevelopment 'options' presented by the NSW Government in 2018. Source: NSW Government.

Presenting these three different options has the appearance of a series of choices about how the estate will be redeveloped. Further, as mentioned above in my discussion of urban planning knowledge,

framing questions around the future of Waterloo as being confined to the siting of buildings, parks and roads, rather than issues of gentrification, displacement or class conflict, serves to limit possibilities for contestation. The masterplan is a technology for managing the possible futures for Waterloo, through rendering specific spaces governable in particular ways and through the use of technical means to address questions around the place's future.

6.5 Conclusion

The government of Waterloo is not a natural or pre-given occurrence. The redevelopment emerges and is made possible through the

confluence of a range of governmental rationalities, the production of knowledge, visibilities, subjectivities and the deployment of technologies. In undertaking this analytics of government, I have endeavoured to bring to light the ways in which the redevelopment of Waterloo is made possible through the production of things, subjects, truths and ways of seeing.

The redevelopment need not be so—and, indeed, need not be quite like that. This is important for understanding resistance and its possibilities and potential. A key task for resistance, according to Foucault, is to understand and make clear that things are not as necessary as they might seem. Through unsettling the taken-for-granted aspects of the redevelopment, I have shown here how government is a productive activity that arranges things so that they might be governed—and govern themselves.

Similarly, as I will argue next, resistance is a productive activity. It generates particular ways of being and knowing, of seeing and acting. Consistent with my understanding of resistance as the same type of force as governmental power, I will turn the analytics elaborated throughout this chapter upon the practice of resistance. First, however, I will introduce the activism that took place against the redevelopment, to provide context for the analysis that follows.

Chapter 7. Activism in Waterloo

The announcement of the redevelopment catalysed a range of responses from residents. Many felt despondent: 'when I received the letter [announcing the redevelopment], I felt dejected—I asked myself whether I should bother watering the garden today' [Elsa, Community Meeting, Factory Community Centre, 11 February 2016]. Some residents expressed resignation: 'If we're going to be [relocated to] Campbelltown for two years, we might as well stay there' [Cameron, Community Meeting, Factory Community Centre, 11 February 2016].

For a group of around two dozen tenants at Waterloo, the announcement of the redevelopment prompted a desire to fight for the future of their neighbourhood. Some tenants began to organise, meeting regularly to try to establish a strategy for halting the redevelopment. In this short chapter, I outline some of the key groups that formed and activities that were coordinated to oppose the redevelopment.

7.1 The action group

The Waterloo Public Housing Action Group formed in response to the announcement of the redevelopment of Waterloo. They began meeting in early 2016, gathering every Tuesday afternoon in a community room in the Solander Building, one of the 16-storey towers on the estate. The group was comprised of a mix of public housing tenants, local private residents and a range of interested scholars and professionals who were working to assist the action group. A number of researchers also regularly attended meetings and assisted the group, including myself, two other PhD scholars and several geographers from Sydney universities.

The group's first activities were to coordinate a petition and a tent embassy. The petition called on the State Government to consider the perspectives of residents in planning for the redevelopment of Waterloo. Though short-lived, the tent embassy was established by local Aboriginal community leaders in protest against the redevelopment. A similar tent embassy had previously been established at another site in the neighbourhood, also to protest the dispossession of land from the local Aboriginal community. The tent embassy is an important protest technique for Indigenous

Australians, as I'll discuss in more detail in Chapter 8.

The group also began organising meetings with NSW Government representatives in an attempt to keep the residents informed about the redevelopment. These meetings were attended by the group's leader, Robert, and occasionally by other active members of the group.

Early activities also included a social media program, run by an academic at Western Sydney University who lived in the Waterloo neighbourhood and who was a regular attendee and active member of the action group. She coordinated a series of workshops to help local residents gain skills in using social media, so that they might be able to update the action group's Facebook page to share the group's activities with other residents.

In late 2016, an architect who lived locally approached the action group to suggest collaborating to create a resident-led vision for the estate. The intention was that this alternative masterplanning process would take place in parallel to the Government's official masterplan, in order to provide a comparative perspective which originated from residents' perspectives. The group secured a lease for a shopfront on the estate from which to coordinate the activities, and began consulting with residents. This space became known as the 'Future Planning Centre' and was launched on June 24, 2017.

The Future Planning Centre primarily functioned as a hub for the action group's activities and as a drop-in space for people to come and talk about the redevelopment. The main part of the space was taken up by a ping-pong table, on which residents and volunteers built a model of the area, shown in Figure 13. Some architecture and planning students began volunteering at the centre, several of whom were creating models of the estate based on projections built through the Government's indications about future densities on-site. The centre also provided information about the Government-led consultation process, including a calendar of scheduled events, and spaces for residents to contribute their thoughts and ideas for the future of Waterloo. The space became a hub for the action group's events and activities, with workshops and forums being held here, as well as the weekly action group meeting.

Figure 13: The model of the Waterloo estate, constructed on a ping pong table in the Future Planning Centre. Source: WPHAG.

7.2 The meetings

Most of my observations for this thesis were undertaken in the weekly meetings of the action group. These weekly meetings were (to put it mildly) disorganised. They rarely started on time, were comprised of an ever-changing group of members, infrequently followed an agenda and rarely resulted in firm resolutions. The field notes I recorded after the very first action group meeting I attended describe my first impressions:

> *The meeting was pretty chaotic, disorganised. It was supposed to start at 4pm, but no-one showed up till 4.15. I was wondering if I was in the right place. Robert didn't show until 5pm, so the meeting didn't start until then. There wasn't an agenda, so things got pretty muddled. Lots of time was spent listening to Robert talk… The meeting tends to get caught up in discussion of minor things, such as how to open PDFs or how to send text messages. These things are logistically important, but perhaps didn't need to be discussed in the large group, and wasted a great deal of time… I suspect I will find a great deal of these meetings*

> *frustrating and will need to be very patient. Things get side-tracked quickly, multiple conversations happen [at the same time], stories get confused and blurred. [Field notes, action group meeting, 1 November 2016]*

As it turned out, this meeting—and my frustration with it—was fairly representative of things to come, and my field notes are littered with similar expressions of frustration and impatience.

The meetings tended to be social occasions and the group members were quick to embrace newcomers. Members would bring snacks—sometimes homemade—to share with the group, and would offer everyone cups of tea and coffee. On occasion, I felt guilty eating the snacks and sweets brought to the meeting by the tenants—most of whom were living on meagre pensions—but they always seemed eager to share and pleased to be feeding us.

The group members were also very supportive of one another, rallying around anyone who needed support. Early in 2017, I recorded this in my field notes:

> *[One of the group members] is currently in hospital recovering from surgery. The meeting started with discussion about his condition and with concern about his recovery. Many had visited him in hospital, called. Olivia had bought a card and asked everyone to sign it, she was going to take it in to him later in the week. I was struck by how many of the group had visited him—I have no neighbours who would visit me in hospital! So many of the group members had been in touch with him, and many had visited. It strikes me as a really supportive community. [Field notes, action group meeting, 28 February 2017]*

Being tight-knit was an important attribute of the group in terms of this ability to support one another, yet its small size was also identified as a problem. The group struggled to find a means of communicating with the broader tenant community to grow its membership. Over 4,000 tenants live on the Waterloo public housing estate, yet at best two dozen tenants were regular attendees at action group meetings. Many tenants are not proficient with email or social media (indeed, many do not have computers), making contacting tenants challenging. Ultimately, the group communicated through some combination of emails (to a small group of members), social media (through Facebook, on which the group has around 750 followers, though many of these are likely not public housing tenants) and through posters placed in the foyers of the estate's buildings.

A key challenge for the group stemmed from the nature of its leadership, which came almost entirely from the group's chair, Robert.

Robert, along with a few other tenants, was a founder of the group. He tended to assert a great deal of ownership over the group, wanting to retain control over activities and discussions, and expressing anger when anything happened that did not see him at the centre:

> *Robert said he didn't want anything happening that he doesn't know about: 'I'm sick of hearing about things third generation. I don't want to hear about anything from someone else. Anything happens with this group, it needs to go through me'. [Field notes, action group meeting, 10 October 2017]*

Discussion in the meetings tended to be rambling, often led by Robert's ranting, as I note here:

> *There was lots of ranting again from Robert today. He's pretty relentless, I think maybe he sees the meetings as an opportunity to grandstand. Rumour and misinformation do seem to be a big problem, and a lot of it comes from Robert. So much of what he says sounds dubious, yet he is the key mouthpiece for the group, and he is the only one in meetings with the Department [of Family and Community Services], and he's the one who does most of the talking in meetings. [Field notes, action group meeting, 17 January 2017]*

On more than one occasion, group members wondered aloud to me whether Robert might be displaying the beginnings of dementia or Alzheimer's disease. His stories changed frequently, he was forgetful, and sometimes misremembered facts so badly that others would step in to correct him, worried that his misinterpretations of key facts and events might cause fear and confusion among tenants.

Robert was, however, devoted to improving the lot of the residents of Waterloo. He invested his days into working towards what he felt was the best possible outcome for residents. Though often confused or misguided, he cared deeply about the future of Waterloo and was outraged by the injustice that he saw the redevelopment as representing.

His role in resistance at Waterloo was significant, but not totalising. In this thesis, I don't wish to get caught up in how the specific and particular aspects of Robert's behaviour influenced the success or otherwise of resistance in Waterloo. I don't mean to dismiss the importance of Robert's personality within the group—hence my acknowledgement and discussion of it here. However, throughout the rest of this thesis, I want to attend to issues that I think are of greater importance. Perhaps one way to think of this is that throughout the rest of the thesis I will try to focus on issues that might have occurred even if we substituted Robert for another leader. This is not because I

don't think that the subjectivity of leaders is important—it is, and for the action group, it certainly was. But I want to focus on how certain aspects of Robert's subjectivity might have influenced the way the group functioned, and look at how Robert's dominance as a straight, white, English-speaking male reproduced dominant modes of conduct. Further, much of the chaos and disorganisation of the action group might have occurred had any other member led the group—especially given the number of tenants suffering mental or physical illness or substance dependence. I don't mean by this that public housing tenants are necessarily chaotic and disorganised, but rather that the chaos and disorganisation amongst the group might not have originated solely with Robert. The majority of challenges that the action group faced would have persisted without Robert's presence. It is this—the challenges of resisting neoliberal governmentalities—that interests me, rather than the particularities of the individuals involved.

7.3 The alternative masterplan

When proposed, the alternative masterplan was envisaged to be an entirely resident-led vision for the future of the area. It would start from 'first principles', consulting residents about their values and fundamental priorities for the estate, and the nature of change (if any) they would like to see in the neighbourhood. This stands in contrast to the government's approach, which involved setting critical parameters around the estate's future: the density, housing mix, financial model, etc., prior to consultation with residents, allowing residents' input only *after* key decisions were made.

The action group's intention was to undertake the alternative masterplanning process simultaneously with the government's visioning and masterplanning so that this alternative plan might serve as a counterpoint for the Government's claims and plans.

The alternative masterplan was an ambitious project: carrying it off would have meant undertaking an enormous amount of consultation with a largely difficult-to-reach community, and with minimal resources. This would have occurred at the same time that that community was being asked to participate in the Government's own consultation processes around the redevelopment.

Land and Housing Corporation representatives claimed that a parallel process would lead to confusion amongst residents about how the alternative plan related to the Government's process, how and by whom their input would be used, and the degree to which their involvement might influence Government plans. This claim suggested that tenants would be incapable of differentiating between the 'official'

consultation process and that run by the action group, and it served to ensure that the 'official' process retained an unchallenged position as planning for the future of Waterloo proceeded.

Concerns were also expressed by Land and Housing Corporation representatives that the alternative masterplan, requiring extensive resident input, would contribute to fatigue among residents associated with the burdens of participating in activism and consultation. Running a parallel process to the Government's official consultation would likely exacerbate fatigue, burdening residents with requirements to constantly attend meetings, share opinions and provide input to research and consultation processes.

Some of these concerns were shared by members of the action group. Resident fatigue and confusion were real issues, which had potential to undermine the success of any efforts to have their voices heard. In response to these concerns, the action group agreed to slightly amend the masterplan project. They would focus not on creating an alternative masterplan (an alternative set of plans for the built environment was expected to be a particular source of confusion, especially given the profusion of rumours and misunderstandings about the built form the redevelopment was going to take) but instead generate a statement of resident priorities starting from first principles.

Additionally, the Government delayed the group in a number of practical ways. I can't say for certain that these were necessarily intentional or deliberate delays; I also don't want to dismiss the possibility that they were. Ultimately, the Government retained a significant ability to control the residents' activities and to effectively derail the alternative masterplan.

7.4 What is being resisted?

Throughout this thesis, I focus attention on conducting an analysis of how resistance took place and what it produced. But I don't want to proceed with that before at least a brief discussion of what was being resisted and why. In this section, I explore the key contentions of the resident action group, outlining their main grievances with the redevelopment project.

I should note that these were the action group's reasons for resisting, and are not necessarily the views of the tenant community as a whole. As I will discuss later in Chapters 8 and 9, some residents of Waterloo supported the redevelopment—and many appeared to be indifferent to it.

Further, as I explore in Chapter 9, there was disagreement among

tenants *within* the action group about what their priorities were and what their objectives should be. I don't mean to pretend that the themes here represent accurately the views of all tenants, nor do I present them as uncontested or unproblematic priorities of the action group. I introduce them merely to give a sense of the key factors motivating tenants to join the action group in protest of the redevelopment, and to provide background for the analysis that follows, so that the reasons for the group's formation might be understood.

7.4.1 Displacement

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the displacement of the community from their homes and neighbourhood was a key grievance among tenants. This was felt particularly strongly in the months immediately following the initial announcement, when it seemed that tenants would all be relocated offsite for the duration of the redevelopment.

Residents had built strong attachments to place, and did not want their attachments to be severed. This excerpt from my field notes captures this sentiment from a conversation I had with Lana, one of the older Yugoslavian tenants on the estate:

> *Before the meeting started I was talking to Lana. She said she has been doing lots of interviews, trying to spread the message that she doesn't want to leave. 'This is my home. Home for 45 years. I don't want to leave. I won't go anywhere else. I moved so much before I came here, every few months. When I came here, I loved it. I said, I will stay here until I die'. [Field notes, action group meeting, 20 June 2017]*

However, even after the Department of Family and Community Services promised residents that they would not be relocated offsite (instead, they have been told that they are to be moved directly into new buildings on the estate), residents have continued to worry about displacement. For many, this worry appeared to stem from a lack of trust that the Government would come good on their promise, while others thought that the relocations within the estate—and the massive changes that would come with them—would still prove disruptive to their lives, even if they were not being moved offsite.

Many of the concerns of action group members related to displacement—about the loss of their community, and the changes that will come with the influx of new residents. This comes through in this conversation from an action group meeting:

> *Robert said 'this community's finished as soon as the bulldozers turn up. That's when we need to start fighting'.*

> *John said 'we need to fight before [the bulldozers turn up]… I don't want to see a new community'. Joanne said 'this is a unique place. There's nowhere else like this, it's unique. That's being totally ignored. We live together quite harmoniously compared to other places'. Beth agreed: 'there's already little room enough, they're going to squeeze thousands more in, there won't be room for anything'. [Field notes, action group meeting, 20 June 2017]*

In addition to their concerns about the loss of community, residents were worried about the impacts of the move on vulnerable community members—particularly the frail and elderly. Joanne spoke about how the removal of the Aboriginal community from The Block—a block of homes owned by the Redfern Aboriginal Housing Company that was demolished in the 2000s—prompted the psychological decline of a community leader:

> *Joanne said 'When they moved [a local Aboriginal community leader] off The Block she got dementia within six months of moving'. [Field notes, action group meeting, 28 February 2017]*

Concerns about displacement are strongly connected here to concerns about the loss of home. Home is a particularly important place within people's lives and personal imaginaries (Easthope, 2004; Porteous and Smith, 2001; Massey, 1992), making the loss of a home place potentially more significant than the loss of places of other kinds.

The members of the action group, however, were concerned about more than merely their own removal from their homes. Their reasons for resisting stemmed in large part from their disapproval of the broader changes that their displacement represented, especially the rapid privatisation of publicly-owned assets in NSW.

7.4.2 Privatisation

The privatisation of assets in the state of NSW has been picking up steam since the Liberal (conservative) Government was elected in 2011. The previous Labor Government had begun to privatise certain assets, including power stations, state ports and coal loaders, and the state lottery (NSW Parliamentary Research Service, 2017). The Liberal Government has continued and accelerated these privatisations, overseeing the sale of the Land Titles Office, a major heavy rail line (the Metro line—which is to have a station at Waterloo), new road infrastructure such as WestConnex, the electricity grid, and a desalination plant (NSW Parliamentary Research Service, 2017).

Privatisation of public assets was a major concern for residents of Waterloo, and appeared to be one of their key concerns with the

redevelopment project. Opposition to privatisation was a strong theme throughout the group's activities, and all group members appeared to be strongly against the privatisation of both the buildings and the land at Waterloo:

> *The group discussed privatisation [of the land at Waterloo]… they are firmly against privatisation. Beth said 'privatisation should not be allowed to happen, it's just really wrong. It shits me to tears'. John agreed, 'the privatisation of public assets is what this government is all about, we can't let it continue. They just want to sell, sell, sell'. Corinne said that she believes the government 'just want as much money as they can get [from selling the land at Waterloo] so they look like good [budget] managers in future'. [Field notes, action group meeting, 31 January 2017]*

Group members were cynical of the NSW Government's promises to use the sale of public housing to fund the construction of new public housing:

> *Andrew: 'One of the arguments that [the Government] will use will be that they will use the funds from the sale to fund public housing elsewhere'. Corinne said '"elsewhere" is the problem'. John interjected, 'That never happens, they never do it'—they never build the new housing, they just sell off the old, he said. [Field notes, participatory masterplan meeting, 28 February 2017]*

The NSW Government has increasingly been transferring management of buildings and tenancies to third sector organisations. The years since the redevelopment announcement have involved a sharp increase in the rate of transfer, with a large number of properties transferred in 2016/17 to community housing providers. The action group strongly opposed the transfer of properties to community housing providers or the sale of publicly-owned dwellings to fund future construction:

> *Corinne said: 'selling anything off is a bad idea—once it's gone, it's gone forever. If there's more public housing then everyone can live here. We should be just saying "don't sell it". Income-based housing provided by the government is invaluable'. [Field notes, action group meeting, 19 September 2017]*

Action group members were particularly concerned that third sector organisations would be allowed to be discriminatory in selecting tenants to house from the wait list. They were worried that the 'hardest to house' tenants would be left out by community housing providers:

> *Corinne mentioned a concern about how allocations work in*

> *community housing. She has done some research and found that community housing providers are able to set their own allocation policies, assigning priority to those as they see fit. She was concerned about what this would mean for those in public housing currently, and on the waitlist, and that some might be seen as more worthy of housing than others. [Field notes, action group meeting, 8 November 2016].*

Gentrification and social mix

Much of the Government's justification of the privatisation of public land in Waterloo lies in creating a 'mixed community'—that is, to see the estate characterised by tenure mix. This notion of creating a 'socially mixed' community was challenged by members of the action group, who saw it as a means of ushering in gentrification:

> *Joanne said [of the social mix policy]: 'their [the Government's] intention is to move the poor people out of the inner city' [Field notes, action group meeting, 7 February 2017]*

The action group members dismissed the notion that social mix could provide some kind of ameliorative solution for 'neighbourhood effects', laughing off the idea that they would be 'improved' through living next to middle class households:

> *Emma was amused by the idea of 'role modelling': 'the idea that I'll see what my neighbours are doing and change my life is ridiculous'. [Field notes, capacity building workshop, 17 May 2017]*

The action group members variously referred to the redevelopment program as 'poor cleansing' and 'gentrification':

> *One resident called the redevelopment 'slum clearance': 'people to be cleansed by living next to yuppies' [Field notes, capacity building workshop, 17 May 2017]*

This talk of poor cleansing echoes language used by others in similar campaigns, for example in a campaign against the eviction of single mothers from subsidised housing in the UK, which called for 'social housing not social cleansing' (Watt, 2016, p. 298).

The redevelopment was often also framed as 'ethnic cleansing', referring to the purge of Aboriginal people from the inner city. As mentioned previously, the original inhabitants of the area, the Gadi people of the Eora nation, were violently pushed off their land after European settlement. The area remained an important space for the Aboriginal population of Sydney, with a large Aboriginal community continuing in the area today. The area's cultural importance for the

Aboriginal communities of Sydney, New South Wales and the wider nation was acknowledged and elevated when it became the site of former Prime Minister Paul Keating's famous Redfern speech. The Redfern speech was given by the Prime Minister to launch the International Year of the World's Indigenous People, and was a major acknowledgement of the injustices perpetrated against Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. As Keating noted in his speech, Redfern was a fitting place to contemplate these things, being a site of great cultural importance but of great injustice, too.[17]

In the decades since the speech, the Aboriginal community of Redfern-Waterloo has experienced further purges. The demolition of housing at The Block, a precinct of public housing in Redfern, saw many Aboriginal households displaced from their homes in the 1990s and 2000s (Shaw, 2000). Prior to its demolition, The Block had come to be understood in popular discourse as 'Australia's Harlem'—discursively ghettoising and stigmatising one of Aboriginal Australia's most significant urban sites (Shaw, 2000). A promised redevelopment has not yet eventuated, and these families remain dispersed across the city. Shaw describes the process of gentrification as the 're-colonisation' (2007, p. 2) of inner-city Sydney as white families shifted from a desire for suburban to urban living throughout the 1990s and 2000s (though, of course, it is important to acknowledge that Redfern/Waterloo was never actually de-colonised, so this movement might be best described as a 'doubling down' of colonisation).

The redevelopment of Waterloo threatens to disperse them further, and is viewed by many community leaders as another violent displacement. Describing the plight of the area's local Indigenous community, local elder Joanne made this statement, captured in my field notes:

> *'…At this rate students will outnumber [Aboriginal] community members. When I moved to Redfern in the 1970s there were 40,000 [Aboriginal] community members here. Now there are 200 of us left. All this gentrification is just code for ethnic cleansing.' [Field notes, action group meeting, 28 February 2017]*
>
> *Joanne said 'the theft of land was an issue here from day*

[17] Paul Keating's Redfern speech is considered by many Australians to be one of the most important political speeches in the country's history (Clark, 2013). It was voted in a 2011 national poll as the third 'most unforgettable speech of all time', ranked behind only Martin Luther King's 'I have a dream' and Christ's 'Sermon on the mount' (Clark, 2013, p. 10). The speech captures a national moment of reckoning around Indigenous/settler relations, and though few of the issues it raises have been resolved, the speech marks a key moment for Indigenous Australians in gaining recognition of past and present injustices.

> *one. We want the truth about the real land owners to be acknowledged.' [Field notes, Participatory masterplan meeting, 28 February 2017]*

Social mix is viewed by action group members as an excuse to justify the purging and dispersal of poor and ethnically diverse community members from Waterloo.

7.4.3 Density increase and overdevelopment

The impact of the redevelopment upon the spatial character of their community is also a key point of contention for action group members.

The high density planned for the redevelopment—criticised by the Lord Mayor of Sydney for being unreasonably high and out of step with the rest of the city's urban form (City of Sydney, 2018)—is a concern for residents, who worry that their neighbourhood will become overcrowded with the influx of new residents:

> *One resident said 'we're already overdeveloped, we don't need this.' [Field notes, capacity building workshop, 17 May 2017]*

The loss of the area's modernist planning and architecture was a concern, too. Many residents are fond of the architecture of the towers and find them to be 'good places to live' [Robert, action group meeting, 11 April, 2017]. Further, these towers are emblematic of a particular kind of state—the Keynesian welfare state—and are seen as an important symbol of a more generous attitude to welfare:

> *Catriona: 'Matavai and Turanga [the 30-storey towers purpose built for elderly tenants] are models of their kind, they embody a vision for society, we might lose their legacy [if they are demolished]'. [Field notes, action group meeting, 17 November 2017]*

Waterloo Green, the parkland that stretches between the buildings in accordance with modernist design principles, is beloved by residents who spend time socialising and walking in the park. The loss of this parkland was a key concern for action group members, who desperately wanted to see it maintained in the redevelopment.

The action group members were generally able to articulate clearly the range of grievances they had with the redevelopment. They were angered by the proposed privatisation of their neighbourhood and the transfer of their tenancies to community housing providers, as well as by the demolition of the buildings in which they lived and their replacement with dense, privately-developed dwellings. However, determining just how to resist these proposed changes was another

matter altogether.

Chapter 8. An analytics of resistance

In the governmentality literature, resistance is generally touched on as something of an afterthought, rather than as the main event or as a realm for systematic interrogation through Foucauldian approaches (Death, 2010). There are few examples that involve the application of governmentality approaches *specifically* to understanding resistance.

Death (2010), however, has initiated some interest in applying Dean's analytics of government to case studies of protest and resistance in order to understand resistance through a Foucauldian lens. By subjecting resistance to the same analytical process used to examine governmental power, we can begin to understand the ways in which resistance works to engage, refute, and reify governmental power. This analytics of resistance encourages us not to look for simple failings or successes of resistance, but encourages us to interrogate the degree to which resistance might *both* destabilise and reinforce existing power relations (Death, 2010, p. 249). Rather than conceptualising resistance as *only* opposition to power (Death, 2010, p. 236), as do many studies, the governmentality approach undertaken through this analytics draws out the ways in which resistance produces subjectivities, ways of knowing, particular fields of visibilities and technologies of power. Death argues that the use of this analytics provides a 'new theoretical tool for analysing protest' and that it provides an opportunity for a 'serious focus' upon dissent and protest in the governmentality literature (Death, 2010, pp. 248-249).

Very few scholars have turned this analytics of government towards analysing non-government rationalities or those of groups or individuals practicing resistance. My literature searches revealed only three articles (Arifi & Späth, 2018; Death, 2010; Ettlinger, 2017) attempting to undertake this analytics of protest.

As far as I have been able to determine, Death (2010) was the first to turn Dean's notion of an analytics of government towards resistance. Death draws on an understanding of resistance as 'counter-conduct' to explore resistance specifically aimed at governmental power—that which conducts the conduct of subjects. This focus on counter-conduct places emphasis on the ways that those engaged in resistance

refuse to be conducted in particular ways and towards particular ends. Death's focus on counter-conduct is relevant to my purposes in this chapter. Counter-conducts are not aimed at realising total revolution, they refuse the subjectivities produced by governmental power, they produce and reify alternative forms of knowledge and ways of seeing, and they draw upon and modify technologies of power in order to produce particular outcomes.

Ettlinger (2017) undertakes what she calls an analytics of resistance[18] with regards to 'care' within residential aged care facilities. This approach uses a critical understanding of the government of aged care and of prevailing rationalities and strategies in the aged care sector to elucidate what an effective and critical resistance *might* look like in this context. It does not, however, constitute what I would consider to be an analytics of *resistance*, as it does not examine specific instances of resistance, but rather looks only at government as a means of thinking about what resistance might be directed at.

In this chapter I draw primarily upon my field notes and interview transcripts to conduct analysis. I also use the media reporting around Waterloo, as discussed in the Methodology chapter, to provide further examples of resident perspectives beyond those documented in my field notes. As with Chapter 6, in which I described the analytics of government, in this chapter I look at the same four dimensions of analysis: fields of visibilities, forms of knowledge, subjectivities and technologies of government.

8.1 Fields of visibility

Just as governmental rationalities 'render visible' the space over which government is exercised, so too do those practicing resistance (Death, 2010). As noted by Death, often protest involves the 'disruption' of state-centric and temporally-limited forms of politics, through bringing to light particular perspectives while obscuring others (2010, p. 241). In this section, I discuss three ways that the Waterloo redevelopment is brought into visibility by the residents engaged in activism. These are the bringing into visibility of Waterloo at the spatial scale of the neighbourhood, as Aboriginal lands, and as the site of class conflict.

[18] Like Ettlinger, I have chosen to call my approach an 'analytics of resistance', rather than an analytics of 'protest', as per Death. This is not so much contention about any conceptual issues as it is about relevance to my case study. 'Protest' has a focus more on an event or spectacle, which is not so relevant for the resistance being undertaken at Waterloo, which is far less event-focused and more of a sprawling resistance campaign.

8.1.1 Rescaling spatial visibilities

The spatial scale at which certain social phenomena are brought into view is relevant for their problematisation and subsequent treatment through policy. Through the discourse and technologies of urban planners, Waterloo—as I described in the analytics of government chapter—comes into view primarily in its relation to the region and global networks. This global scale is not, however, the level of experience for most citizens: experience and attachment occur at the level of the neighbourhood, rendered through 'practico-sensory' interactions with the place (Rogers, 2014). The residents of Waterloo, work to bring the neighbourhood into view at the level of the local. They articulate the area as home, as a place of belonging, rather than a place relevant only in its connections to broader networks.

Bringing the area into visibility as 'home' is a key strategy of the action group's resistance. In conversation and meetings, as well as in interviews with the media, group members constantly emphasise Waterloo as home—seemingly in an attempt to illuminate the neighbourhood as an important place for its residents, not merely as a potential investment site for global capital.

> *We may not own the houses, but these are our homes [Tim, field notes, community meeting, 11 November 2016]*

In an article in *The Guardian* in 2017, Catriona, a resident, was quoted saying 'These are people's homes. They're not just "real estate"' (Harmon, 2017, p. 1).

This is a key strategy in other activist movements around gentrification, displacement and public housing estate renewal (see for example *We call these projects home* by the Right to the City Alliance (2010)). Bringing the estate into view as a 'home' place is intended to engender empathy amongst others, to create a focus upon the tenants' relationship to place. Rather than viewing the estate in its relationship with other cities and regions, the estate is illuminated as a neighbourhood with which residents have strong social and cultural attachments. Residents want to dismiss the notion of the neighbourhood as 'real estate', bringing into the foreground their relationship to the place as home, working to relegate its value as a commodity to be bought and sold to the background.

Members of the action group emphasise their everyday relationships with place at the local level, illuminating a fine-grained level of connection with particular aspects of the neighbourhood:

> *I love the Waterloo estate, there is a thriving community, supportive networks through which to develop talents and support other people, I have never lived anywhere like here.*

> *I fear that we'll have something soulless like what's around Danks St [a private redevelopment in Waterloo's eastern section]. Also, I don't want to lose the birds and trees that I look out on from my window. [Catriona, Field notes, Q&A at Turning Towers Performance, 31 March 2017]*

> *This a home sweet home for me. It's a shelter after what I've gone through in life. I'm still struggling now and then but I'm happy and free and this is me. It's a beautiful place to live in. We have space to sit down in the sun, to bounce a ball when my grandkids come, and I've got a little garden block down there because I'm an outdoor person. My grandkids love it. They say, 'Nana, can we go to your garden? Nana, can we go to your garden?'. I go there most days. I grow celery, coriander, tomatoes, ginger, rosemary, parsley, lemon grass. I do a lot of cooking. [Masaolo, The Guardian article* (Weeks, 2017, p. 9)]

This kind of talk was very common in particular when residents were speaking to journalists and media outlets. Through highlighting its role as home on the neighbourhood scale, residents are working to undo the conception of Waterloo as merely one small node in a network of global cities and places.

8.1.2 Waterloo as Aboriginal land

The action group members frequently bring Waterloo into view as Aboriginal land—over which sovereignty was never ceded. The importance of the Indigenous community to this place, and this place to the Indigenous community, is frequently brought to the fore in discussions with tenants around the future of the area. Meetings often commence with an acknowledgement of country,[19] and the alternative masterplanning project held as a key principle the acknowledgement of Indigenous custodianship of the land and the prioritisation of Indigenous perspectives in any planning process concerning Waterloo.

> *We started [the meeting] with an acknowledgement of country from Jenny. She noted that Redfern/Waterloo has been the centre of the Aboriginal movement for decades. She told the story of TJ Hickey, linking it to the 'deliberate purge*

[19] An 'acknowledgement of country' is a statement often delivered at the beginning of formal events in Australia to acknowledge the traditional Indigenous custodians of the land. It differs from a 'welcome to country' in that an acknowledgement of country can be delivered by anyone, whereas a welcome to country can only be delivered by members of the nation or clan belonging to that country.

> *of our community since then,' noting that there has been 'no justice for his death, no censure for the officers involved'... She said: 'There's been three purges of our community, we're now reduced to just 300 people'. This redevelopment has particular meanings for the Aboriginal community, who have been forced out of this place before. [Field notes, Participatory masterplan meeting, 28 February 2017]*

> *Robert mentioned that there is a need to [consult with] the Aboriginal community, as 'this is their land, after all'. Joanne agreed: 'Aboriginal [public housing] tenants need to be first on the list [for consultation] as they are the most affected by this'. [Field notes, action group meeting, 14 March 2017]*

> *Chloe said '[Redfern/Waterloo] was a meeting place, and the idea of [Indigenous] self-determination was fought for here. We need emphasis on the dispossession that occurred here.' [Field notes, participatory masterplan meeting, 28 February 2017]*

A blackboard, immediately in view as you enter the Future Planning Centre, carries the words 'Always was, always will be, Aboriginal land'.[20] People's experiences in the space were framed by the presence of these words. These words established some first principles for engagement in the space.

Centring Aboriginal perspectives brings Waterloo into view as a place where cultural and social connections to place are paramount. Personal and historical connections to Waterloo are seen as important. Urban planning tends to treat land targeted for redevelopment as something of a blank slate onto which an entirely new landscape can be projected. Through working to see Aboriginal connections to place made visible, however, the residents are making the neighbourhood visible as a place that is something other than a blank slate, remerging instead as a place with deep and complicated histories.

[20] The phrase 'Always was, always will be, Aboriginal land' is used by Indigenous rights advocates and their supporters in Australia to reject the notion of 'terra nullius' which informed 200 years of colonial policy in Australia, and to remind Australians that Aboriginal sovereignty over the Australian territory was never ceded. It is an important declaration of Aboriginal custodianship of the land and a reminder of the ongoing colonial project.

8.1.3 Class

Governmental strategy works to obscure the redevelopment as a class project, working to have it appear as an issue of the arrangement of things in space. The action group members, in contrast, bring the redevelopment into visibility as a class conflict. They speak frequently of gentrification and class cleansing, of efforts to remove the poor from the inner city. Their discourse deliberately invokes the class conflict that notions of social mix and 'redevelopment' work to discursively obscure. They see politics as primarily a class battle, understanding the governing NSW Liberal Party as representatives of middle- and upper-class interests, rather than their own. They see the battle for Waterloo as being located not just in disputes about how to use the space, but about the right of the poor to belong in the inner city:

> *'The redevelopment is all about making this area available to middle-class and upper-class people.' [Joanne, Field notes, action group meeting 10 October 2017]*

By bringing the class-based nature of social mix programs into visibility, the discourse of the action group sees the program transformed from a neutral policy approach for resolving concentrations of disadvantage to a project aimed at the retaking of the city away from the working class.

Even the architecture and design of the buildings themselves was brought into view in its relationship to social class. In my field notes, I recorded this while listening to the Q&A session following the Turning Towers performance:

> *Catriona mentioned an article in the* South Sydney Herald *about Matavai and Turanga, noted that she wants to see them retained as articles of Sydney brutalism: 'Even if I don't live in them I want to see them retained as an example of the time when being a pensioner was treated with respect—that was the purpose of these towers when they were built'. The social justice mission of the towers' architects resonates with Catriona, who clearly feels she is not respected as a tenant of public housing, that she faces stigma and that people have certain expectations of her. [Field notes, Q&A session, Turning Towers performance, 31 March 2017]*

For Catriona, the architecture of the site is intrinsic to her understanding of the space both as a place she belongs and a place that is characterised by its class profile and consciousness. Class is centred here as a way of understanding space, design and the city—class is brought into view even in the built form of the city. Design, which is

imagined by government to be a technical matter for experts, is emphasised as a political act that might be reflective of class divisions and consciousness.

Residents often noted that only certain kinds of social concentrations are problematised, referencing the extraordinary concentrations of wealth in other parts of Sydney, especially harbourside and beachside suburbs:

> *One resident asked 'why don't we put more mix in Warringah?' Others contributed 'Or Kirribilli?'*[21] *Someone else said 'Yeah, what about Vaucluse or Mosman?' Everyone laughed about this—all knowing that it's a fair point but that it would be dismissed by policymakers. [Field notes, capacity building workshop, 17 May 2017]*

> *'We've already got social mix in Waterloo. They could do with some social mix in Kirribilli'. [Field notes, Turning Towers performance, 31 March 2017]*

By bringing social mix into view as a policy borne out of class conflict, and by illustrating that it relies on a problematisation of only certain kinds of social concentrations, the residents work to dismantle the taken-for-granted logic of the problematisation of concentrations of disadvantage, bringing it into view instead as an issue of who has the right to belong in the city.

In the 'post-political' city, the government attempts to obscure political differences and conflict, presenting urban problems as technical matters solvable through the application of expertise and consultation (Rosol, 2014). Whereas these governmental rationalities bring the Waterloo redevelopment into view as a technical matter for urban planning experts, the residents focus on class, re-centering political difference rather than attempting to diminish these differences. Residents here appear to be pushing back against any post-political moves, emphasising rather than obscuring political and class conflict.

[21] Kirribilli is an exclusive harbourside neighbourhood of Sydney, in which Australia's Prime Minister has a NSW residence which enjoys views of the Opera House, the Harbour Bridge and the Harbour heads. Similarly, Warringah, Vaucluse and Mosman are expensive harbourside suburbs dominated by expensive and luxury homes.

8.2 Forms of knowledge

Whereas the state is associated with the proliferation of statistical and technical knowledge, those practicing resistance draw upon alternative or marginalised forms of knowledge (Death, 2010). My interest in this section isn't so much what the residents of Waterloo know, but rather how they come to know things. The practice of resistance relies upon particular ways of knowing—some of which are similar to governmental rationalities, but others which are distinct from these, and which may work against those ways of knowing proliferated through governmental practices. It is these distinctions that I focus on here.

8.2.1 Experiential and affective knowledge

Conflicting understandings of space and time are, argues Harvey, central in contemporary struggles: 'contestation in contemporary society in part arises out of subjective and individual resistance to the authority of the clock and the tyranny of the cadastral map' (Harvey, 1990, p. 419). These different ways of knowing the city are critical for urban struggles. Harvey argues that many cities have undergone struggles 'for command over strategic central city spaces' as part of a broader struggle to 'replace a landscape of hierarchy and pure money power' with a social space constructed 'in the image of equality and justice' (Harvey, 1990, p. 422). Each social formation, argues Harvey, 'constructs objective conceptions of space and time' sufficient for its own needs (1990, p. 419).

Death (2010, p. 244) argues that protestors often draw upon the 'register of aesthetic, emotive or moral truths', rather than modernist discourses of rationality. We might view these emotive and aesthetic ways of knowing as affective knowledge—ways of knowing the city that rely on feelings and experiences (Rogers, 2014).

The residents engaged in activism at Waterloo draw upon markedly different ways of knowing space and time to those used by the state. Indeed, in Waterloo, affective knowledge of the city and the neighbourhood appears to be primary in understanding the city. Residents' understanding of space and time is much more connected to people's feelings and experiences than to mathematical conceptions. Conceptions of space and time are not merely 'background noise', they are instruments that allow actors to make moral claims about social groups and phenomena (Rogers, 2014, p. 112).

Calendar time, drawn upon by government as a way of knowing temporal dimensions, appears to be less important to residents than

the lived experience—tenants talk about what the redevelopment timeframe will mean in terms of their lives, especially the elderly tenants who do not believe they will be around to see the project finished. These excerpts from my field notes capture some of the ways in which tenants understand time:

> *There was a question regarding the timeframe for the redevelopment. Residents were told originally that they would be moving this year, now that has changed to next year, but the [Land and Housing Corporation] staff today have said that nothing will happen until after the 18-month-long masterplanning and engagement process. People want to know if they should be upgrading and maintaining their apartments or not. Geoff said that we need to know when the six months' notice kicks in. Rob and Donna confirmed it will be 2-3 years before the relocation starts. Lana responded 'It'll be 30 years [before it starts]'. She sighed, and said to me, 'I won't be here in 30 years'. [Field notes, Waterloo Redevelopment Group meeting, 19 April 2017]*

> *Virginia talked about the impact of the uncertainty on the residents. She said 'there's so much uncertainty. I've got people coming up to me asking if they should paint their apartment, but they don't know how long they're going to be here for. People have so many questions. I don't have the answers. People just want to know how long they'll be here for. It's very hard, facing this and not knowing when you'll need to move'. [Field notes, capacity building workshop, 17 May 2017]*

For the residents of Waterloo, time is understood in reference to their own lived experience. Residents are less concerned about how many years the redevelopment will take than they are about when key events will play out in relation to their own lives. Uncertainty for residents about the redevelopment stems not just from not knowing the calendar timetable for the redevelopment (which remains vague) but from an inability to know how this will translate to their own life stage.

Similarly, while the government relies on Cartesian ways of knowing space, residents rely upon their own relationship to place—affects and feelings derived from everyday experiences of inhabiting the space. This incident recorded in my field notes highlights the distinction between residents' ways of knowing space and those ways of knowing held proliferated by government:

> *There was a discussion about the Metro [railway station] site and the demolition of the existing buildings to make way for the new station. Representatives from the Sydney Metro [the private company that will develop the railway line and*

> *station] were arguing that only people within 250 metres of the site needed to be informed about demolition. But other residents are feeling that they weren't informed, and this is leading to confusion and suspicion about what was happening. Simon told them 'we need to know when the demolition will begin. People are asking, they need to know what is going on'.*
>
> *Geoff said that 'all residents need to be in the loop. People walk past the site every day, they want to know what's going on.'*
>
> *Charmaine [from Inner Sydney Voice] said that people might be confused, think that the demolition of the Metro site is the beginning of the demolition of the estate. Emma said 'It is [the beginning of demolition]! The Metro and the redevelopment are not separate'. She pointed to a statement on a Communities Plus summary note that said 'the Metro is a key driver for the redevelopment'. 'They're not separate, this is just the beginning of a massive demolition'. [Field notes, Waterloo Redevelopment Group, 16 August 2017]*

For residents, whose knowledge of space derives from experiences and affects, the Metro Station site is as much a part of their daily lives as the rest of the estate—it is not experienced as a separate place, given that it is, as Geoff notes, a site that many residents walk past every day, and is the location of shops that Waterloo residents frequent. Representatives from the Metro and the NSW Government, on the other hand, appear to view the Metro Station site as distinct from the estate redevelopment. Urban planning knowledge leads Government representatives to make distinctions between contiguous spaces based on land ownership, zoning and development controls. The determination of those who might be 'directly affected' was based on the physical proximity of homes to the site. Residents, however, considered their 'need to know' to be based on their relationship with the place, which derived from more than only physical proximity to their dwelling.

Similarly, when it came to ways of understanding the social make-up of the neighbourhood, residents were uninterested in engaging with graphs and figures which the government used to understand local demographics. Instead, residents relied upon their own experiences of living in the neighbourhood to account for social mix and diversity:

> *'[Michael Darcy, a retired university professor] provided an introduction on social mix then invited everyone to discuss what kind of mix exists in Waterloo. There was some confusion over the graphs that we were shown, people were unsure how to interpret them. After a few minutes of*

> *attempting to interpret the graphs, everyone began talking about their own experiences, setting the graphs and figures aside. That's when the conversation really got going. The group noted that there is no real mix, that people go to different doctors, send their kids to different schools depending on who they are and the housing they live in—private or public. There are some services used by public housing tenants then others used by everyone else. [Field notes, capacity building workshop, 17 May 2017]*

Knowledge of the space through technical means, as used by urban planners and government policy makers, was criticised by residents as being a limited way of understanding the neighbourhood:

> *'The problem with these urban planners is they have a map and a biro in front of them, they make little dots and get a ruler and join them up, and they've got a railway line. It's completely devoid of contact with local people.' [John,* The Guardian *article, July 2017]*

Graphs and figures were seen as inadequate or unnecessary for interpreting the situation, and personal experiences were preferred as a way of knowing the space.

8.2.2 Economic rationalism

Waterloo action group members retain a critical view of the neoliberal economic rationalism of the NSW Government. They frequently disparage the ways of knowing proliferated by the government, which use market knowledge to assess value and which problematise public debt and expenditure:

> *But the value of everything these days is what it's worth financially, so all those things that you can't put a value on must diminish. You end up with a very dreadful society, something like [George Orwell's novel]* 1984. *[Catriona,* The Guardian *article, July 2017]*

> *The government wants the public to feel like it's wrong to be paying things off for years—they'll try to make out that public debt is unusual, despite the fact that it's been that way for centuries. [Corinne, Field notes, action group meeting, 17 January 2017]*

However, the action group members deploy their own economic rationalism, which is distinct from neoliberal rationalism. It draws upon an understanding of cost-effectiveness and efficiency, however without the normalisation and valorisation of the private market that is inherent in neoliberal rationality. Economic logic is invoked as a

means of knowing, and cost-effectiveness and efficiency are deployed as key concepts, but the market is not seen as a generator of truth. In the following excerpt from my field notes, I express doubts as to how easily the group members' economic rationalism will be accepted by the Government:

> *Robert said he believes we can successfully lobby for the government to refurbish the towers [Matavai and Turanga] and keep [Waterloo] Green. I'm less hopeful that this is likely—the best real estate in the area is where the two towers are—it's close to Redfern shops, walking distance to the station, and it'll be really close to the new Metro station. Robert believes that if the group communicates to the Government that the cost of refurbishing would be less than the cost of rebuilding that they will change their mind. I'm less certain. [Field notes, action group meeting, 31 January 2017]*

The tenants' economic rationalism is distinct from neoliberal governmental rationalities and ways of knowing in that it does not see the market as a generator of truth. They deploy an economic rationalism that relies upon the weighing of costs and benefits to determine an economically optimal outcome, whereas the NSW Government, as I demonstrated in the previous chapter, deploys a neoliberal rationality in which decisions about optimal outcomes should be left to the market, which will determine the true value.

This strategy is not dissimilar to that described by Darcy and Rogers (2015) as being used in Millers Point. There, those engaged in opposition to the sale of public housing commissioned a report by private consultants to mount an economic argument against the sale of the buildings. The report articulated a long-term cost-benefit analysis which weighed relative costs of selling or keeping the buildings, and found that keeping them would be a more sustainable option.

Whereas the action group members draw upon an economic rationalism that holds up efficiency as a key objective, the NSW Government draws upon an economic rationalism that is committed to the market—even when this might conflict with the cost-effectiveness and efficiency of outcomes. The market *itself* is, in the neoliberal rationality, the locus of truth, whereas for the action group arguments about efficiency and effectiveness can be arrived at without reference to the market.

8.3 Technologies and apparatuses

The technical domain is not the exclusive realm of government: resistance both 'subverts and inverts' the techniques of government (Death, 2010, p. 245). The reappropriation of familiar techniques is a key strategy of resistance, which both 'reinforces and destabilises' practices of government (Death, 2010, p. 245).

A challenge for resistance to neoliberal governmentalities is not only how to say 'no', but how to demonstrate how things could be otherwise. Neoliberal governmentalities—as do other dominant discursive regimes—have a powerful capacity to make things appear as necessary, to make things appear as though they could never be any other way. A key challenge for resistance lies in dismantling the taken-for-granted status of neoliberal rationalities and presenting alternatives to the status quo. Odysseos notes that, in the neoliberal context, rather than simply refusing to be governed, resistance often involves 'alternative attempts at governing' (Odysseos, 2016).

The alternative masterplan project sought to do just that. This technology promised not so much to reject the governance of their neighbourhood and community but to reject being governed in ways that exclude their voices and ignored their vision for their neighbourhood. The alternative masterplan would be productive in that it would not merely say 'no' but would instead produce an alternative vision, and also represented an effort to resist through the agency of the governed, demonstrating that they can move counter to governmental conduct.

Through proposing a viable alternative, the tenants' masterplan threatened to destabilise the status quo or make the taken-for-granted seem less than necessary. It demonstrated another path forward, making the redevelopment appear as merely a single contingency amongst a vast array of options, rather than a necessary future. Further, it aimed to expose the ways in which the Government's plan failed to truly take the residents' perspective as a starting point for consultation, by using the alternative as a counterpoint to demonstrate what a plan that actually incorporated resident input might look like.

I raise this example because, despite not being implemented, the alternative masterplan appeared to me to be a project with great potential to resist through demonstrating how things could be otherwise. Whereas much of the group's activities centred upon saying 'no' to the redevelopment and ways of governing social housing, the alternative masterplanning proposed a means of governing the estate that viewed the residents not as passive recipients of government direction but as subjects with local knowledge and with a stake in the

future of the estate.

In this section, I explore two types of technologies used by those resisting the redevelopment of Waterloo: techniques of legitimacy, and of bearing witness. As with the state, those resisting produce and draw upon technologies of power to advance their objectives. Like the objectives of the alternative masterplan, these technologies are not merely negative or reactionary, but both focus on producing something: producing legitimacy for the group, in the first instance, and producing a performance of monitoring and bearing witness, in the second.

8.3.1 Techniques of legitimacy

The residents of Waterloo practiced a number of what I call here 'techniques of legitimacy', many of which were primarily oriented around establishing their right to have a say. Techniques of legitimacy—for example, the mass march—are used to demonstrate constituency and mandate, and can transform political landscapes through presenting a challenge to conventional politics (Death, 2010).

Della Porta and Diani discuss the importance of the 'logic of numbers' in social movements (della Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 171)—and, indeed, the demonstration of numbers is a key component of these techniques of legitimacy. However, as I argue here, there are several facets to practicing legitimacy, of which numbers is only one.

The technologies of legitimacy I observed being undertaken by the action group were primarily performative activities. They involved adopting formal practices such as minute taking, agenda setting, formal meetings with government representatives and the incorporation of the group as an association.

At each week's meeting, the group recorded minutes, to be distributed amongst those who were in attendance and read back to the group the following week. These meetings rarely involved making decisions about action, so the minutes mostly record conversation topics, rather than decisions. The minutes are also not necessary for administrative purposes, given that the group remains unincorporated, as I discuss below. The minutes function, then, as a technology of legitimacy: a performance undertaken to formalise the group and establish it as having procedures that accord with business practices or management procedures.

Sometimes these techniques of legitimacy began to feel as though they themselves became the objective of activism. Meetings with the NSW Government, for example, were regularly scheduled, and the group's leader relished them as an opportunity to establish legitimacy.

> *Robert told us that he has had 11 meetings with Minister Hazzard. Robert meets regularly with the Minister and other staff from the Department, yet the information provided and the outcomes negotiated never change. These meetings appear to have become an end in themselves. [Field notes, action group meeting, 17 January 2017]*

These meetings with officials became a point of contention when the group reached a significant juncture in their relationship with the Government. The Government was threatening to withhold the right to use a public space on the Waterloo Green due to language being used by the action group and others:

> *The Land and Housing Corporation has objected to some language in a video on the WeLiveHere website, and is withholding a permit that would allow the WeLiveHere launch on Waterloo Green. The majority [of the members in the room] seemed to think that, especially given that this is, primarily, a protest, the group should go ahead without waiting for permission from the government. On the other hand, Robert mostly appeared concerned that the government officials would stop meeting with him [if they went against the government's wishes]. He said that he thinks that the meetings with the government staff are important, that he doesn't want to jeopardise them [by keeping the video up on the website]. Joanne asked what [the meetings] have actually achieved, and Robert said that it's just important to be in the room. It seems that merely being in the room is becoming more important than the actual outcomes that the protest achieves? [Field notes, action group meeting 15 August 2017]*

Here, Robert argues for maintaining the group's standing with government officials over sticking to the group's messaging on the redevelopment. His concern is not so much ensuring that the group's message is heard than it is for ensuring that the group be allowed to have a seat at the table.

The performative aspect of taking and reading the minutes and the scheduling of meetings with government representatives—rather than the actual minute documents or the content of discussions that took place with officials—was the significant aspect here, contributing towards a sense of legitimacy through performing the rituals of a formal meeting. Through enacting technologies of legitimacy the group is working to develop shared procedures and activities that move them from one status—a disorganised coalition of public housing tenants—to another: that of an activist group and advocacy organisation.

Incorporation

The action group realised that in order to access certain resources, such as public funding and community grants, they would need to become an incorporated association. Incorporation would require the group to establish certain procedures and arrangements, for example a constitution, office holders (treasurer, secretary etc.) and processes for decision making and record keeping. Such processes are means of establishing legitimacy, but they are also technologies of government. Through making incorporation a requirement of receiving grant funding and other resources, government is able to require that organisations comply with an organisational structure that is known to government. Establishing processes for democratic decision making, record keeping and financial accounting are key to incorporation of associations, requiring organisations to conform to governmental rationalities that draw on management and accounting knowledge.

In the end, the group did not incorporate. This was as much due to lack of organisation as anything else: in my field notes, I described a conversation in which the group was trying to plan for the incorporation process in this way: 'The process of applying for incorporation is just as muddled as everything else' [Field notes, action group meeting, 1 November 2016]. The organisational requirements, which included gathering signatures, signing up members, developing an organisation structure and nominating office holders, was beyond the means of the public housing tenants leading the group.

Incorporation presented a tricky problem for the group members. It offered them some legitimacy as an organisation which may have conferred opportunities to apply for resources that could have assisted them. The group's failure to incorporate prevented them initially from accepting a local government grant and from signing a lease agreement for the Future Planning Centre space—both of these required another organisation to auspice these. However, incorporating would have required them to conform to legislative requirements about how an organisation should run and be structured, and to adopt knowledge and practices (and not-insignificant administrative burdens) central to dominant governmental rationality.

These technologies of legitimacy, then, served to both challenge and reify the dominance of governmental strategy. The residents were eager to adopt techniques of legitimacy that they felt would help cement a place for their resistance amongst the governmental processes and discourse surrounding the redevelopment. But these techniques of legitimacy also worked towards shaping their group into something more governable, into an entity that conformed more

closely to dominant structures and organisational boundaries.

8.3.2 Bearing witness

The tactic of 'bearing witness' is another key technology used in protest (Death, 2010). The 'logic of bearing witness' seeks to demonstrate a 'strong commitment' to an objective deemed vital for humanity's future (della Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 176). Techniques of bearing witness often involve adopting 'cultural as well as political strategies', reflecting a sensitivity to alternative values and culture (della Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 177). The strategy of bearing witness is in large part about reminding government that citizens are watching their actions—it might perhaps be seen as a refusal to stand idly by. But more than simply a practice of holding to account: bearing witness is also a performative practice of remaining in place and demonstrating unity and humanity. In this section I discuss three key projects that practiced 'bearing witness' in Waterloo: 'monitory' democracy (Rogers, 2013), the tent embassy, and the WeLiveHere community art project.

Monitory democracy

Access to information about the redevelopment was a key point of contention for many of those engaged in activism around the estate: many residents felt that a key strategy of government was to keep them in the dark. This notion was articulated again and again in action group meetings and elsewhere:

> *'Everything we're getting [from the government] is all spin. The government tell us nothing, they should be trying to appease us.' [Robert, field notes, action group meeting, 17 January 2017]*

> *'We need to keep tabs on what everyone else is doing, as they will try to play everyone against the others, we need to talk and know what's happening. The major problem is that there is so much stuff that we won't have time to go to everything that is happening.' [Geoff, field notes, action group meeting, 21 February 2017]*

> *'They just really think: tell us what you want so we can make sure we don't accidentally give it to you.' [Corinne, field notes, action group meeting, 13 March 2017]*

A key strategy for their resistance, given this mistrust, involved becoming informed about government activities, and collating and sharing information with community members.

In Waterloo, this was undertaken by several groups, but in particular

by RedWatch, who adopt what Rogers calls a 'monitory democracy' approach to keep an eye on the government's activities and ensure citizens are aware of governmental strategies (Rogers, 2013).

RedWatch formed in 2004 in response to the planned redevelopment of the area, at that time through the Redfern Waterloo Authority. RedWatch was established to act as an observer for the government's activities in Redfern, Eveleigh, Darlington and Waterloo (Rogers, 2013). The group does not necessarily campaign for particular actions or outcomes—it does not take a partisan political stance—but rather aims to keep a check on the activities of the government in relation to Waterloo (Rogers, 2013).

RedWatch's membership is comprised of both private residents and public housing tenants from Waterloo and its surrounding neighbourhoods, as well as members of local community development organisations. RedWatch meets monthly to discuss key issues of concern to the community. Throughout the redevelopment process it actively provided information to residents about changes and updates relating to the redevelopment, and held several forums and meetings specifically focused on the redevelopment to keep residents informed.

The name 'RedWatch' deliberately includes 'watch' to signify their intention to 'watch' the government (Rogers, 2013). RedWatch calls their approach 'power monitoring', and their activities focus on monitoring government activities with a view to advocating for outcomes that benefit the community (Rogers, 2013). I mentioned earlier that keeping track of information on ever-changing government websites can be an extremely difficult task. In recognition of the transient nature of government websites, RedWatch keeps an extensive website which provides an archive of government publications, policies and documents relating to the area (Rogers, 2013), an important aspect of their 'monitory' role in the neighbourhood.

The RedWatch website contains an important repository of documentation around the various government interventions and developments in the area, providing an archive of documents that so often disappear from government websites and become out of public access. Through literally 'bearing witness'—through documenting and sharing, making themselves informed witnesses to government interventions and policies in their neighbourhood—RedWatch members practice an advocacy based in the right to know, and a commitment to ensuring that the citizens of south Sydney neighbourhoods are aware of the changes occurring in their area.

Techniques of bearing witness were also apparent in the action group's attempts to keep the community informed about the details of the masterplanning process, particularly in the activities of the Future

Planning Centre.

The Future Planning Centre featured a 10-metre long blackboard on which information was provided about the key agencies involved at Waterloo, the timeline for the redevelopment and consultation process, key upcoming events and activities and other pieces of information as they arose.

The Future Planning Centre's volunteers, many of whom were students or architects, developed models and figures to illustrate to residents what the Government's proposed density and building height scenarios for the redevelopment would actually look like from the ground. When the Government released its 'options' for the redevelopment masterplan, for example, the initial information provided was scant, with maps of the area providing information that was not necessarily easily to interpret without a background in planning. In order to assist the residents to understand the actual implications of the proposed scenarios, volunteers developed figures to demonstrate this for the community. Some of these images are shown in Figure 14. The brochures they created served two key purposes: firstly, they provided additional information to residents so that they might participate in consultation in an informed way, rather than relying only on the scant resources provided by the NSW Government. Secondly, and especially importantly in terms of bearing witness, these brochures served to signify to the Government that someone was watching—that is, that the information they were providing to residents was being verified and supplemented.

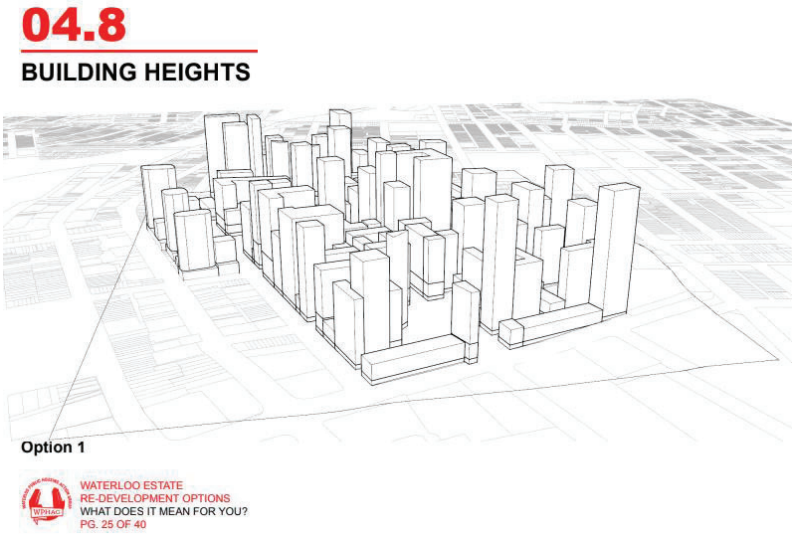


Figure 14: Models developed by volunteers to demonstrate Government proposals to Waterloo residents. Source: WPHAG.

This monitory democracy role speaks to the 'holding to account' aspect of technologies of bearing witness. However, a critical component of this practice of bearing witness is the performative practice of remaining in place.

The tent embassy

The tent embassy at Waterloo signified a particular practice of bearing witness through a cultural practice that has symbolic significance for the local Aboriginal community. The Waterloo tent embassy was established in 2016 by an Aboriginal woman originally from Wiradjuri country, who is a community leader in Waterloo (and who is also a member of the action group, though I have anonymised her throughout this thesis).

The tent embassy is a technique of protest first practiced in Australia in Canberra in 1972. On January 26—Australia's national day and the day on which Governor Phillip arrived in Australia in 1788, known to many supporters of Aboriginal rights as Invasion Day—a group of Aboriginal rights protestors erected a 'tent embassy' on the lawns of Parliament House in the nation's capital in order to create a space in which 'the dispossession of land rights and sovereignty are spoken back to the state' (Watson, 2009, p. 30). The protest leaders told police that the embassy would remain in place until the Federal Government granted land rights to Aboriginal people (Robinson, 1994). The Aboriginal tent embassy remains on the lawns of Parliament House today, a symbol of enduring contestation over land rights, human rights and sovereignty. An embassy serves to represent one nation to another. Naming the protest site an 'embassy' also serves to highlight the alienation many Indigenous Australians feel from the state of Australia, bringing to light a sentiment of being excluded from the nation.

The Block has long been the gravitational centre of the Aboriginal in inner-city Sydney (Spark, 1999; Shaw, 2000). Two decades ago, the four streets of terrace housing that comprised the block—occupied by Aboriginal households—were demolished. The Block is subject to redevelopment plans proposed by the local Aboriginal Housing Company, however these plans did not include housing for local Aboriginal households (McNally, 2015).[22] Munro established a tent embassy on the Block to protest the lack of housing for Aboriginal households at the redevelopment site (McNally, 2015). The site is of great importance for the local Aboriginal community as well as of

[22] The fate of the Block has long been contentious among the local Aboriginal community. The Aboriginal Housing Company is run by one faction of the local Aboriginal community, whose actions around the Block have angered other community members who believe that the Company's mission should be to provide housing for the local community members who were displaced when the Block's original housing was demolished.

national significance: as Chloe, a local Aboriginal community leader, told me: *'whatever happens in Redfern ripples across the country into other Aboriginal communities, this [place] is so important as a place for all Aboriginal people' [Field notes, participatory masterplan meeting, 28 February 2017].* Munro's tent embassy campaigned for the inclusion of Aboriginal housing as part of the redevelopment site, which was secured in 2015 through allocation of funding from the Federal Minister for Indigenous Affairs (McNally, 2015). The tent embassy was disassembled after this victory.[23]

Munro re-established the tent embassy on the Waterloo Green following the announcement of the redevelopment of the Waterloo estate. The Waterloo tent embassy was established to protest the displacement of the community and the lack of information provided to community members about the redevelopment (WPHAG, 2016). A key objective was to *'show the [NSW Liberal] Government we are human beings and a united culturally diverse community'* (WPHAG, 2016). Much like the tent embassies in Canberra and Redfern, the Waterloo tent embassy was a technology of bearing witness—a performative undertaking of remaining in place and of demonstrating presence and unity. Through occupying space, the tent embassy serves to assert a connection and relationship to place that is enduring despite threats. The tent embassy also performs a role in bearing witness to the continued occupation of the Aboriginal lands on which the Waterloo estate stands over which sovereignty was never ceded.

The tent embassy did not last long on Waterloo Green—in part because *'it was winter and pouring with rain and freezing cold' [Catriona, interview, 31 October 2017].* However, this technique of bearing witness was adopted by another key campaign in Waterloo: WeLiveHere.

WeLiveHere

WeLiveHere aims to 'put a human face to public housing' and 'to encourage compassion, action, and where necessary, resistance to the rapid urban development we are experiencing in cities across Australia and globally' (WeLiveHere, 2018). Led by artist Clare Lewis, a private resident of Waterloo, it aims to document the stories of residents that are soon to be displaced from Waterloo.

There were two components to the project: a light installation in the two 30-storey towers, and a documentary about the installation (which focuses on the stories of residents and the impact the redevelopment is having upon them). The installation was launched

[23] Unfortunately, despite the allocation of these funds, subsequent revised plans for the site have not identified adequate provision of housing to rehouse those Aboriginal families displaced when the Block was demolished.

on September 9 2017, with hundreds of residents participating by having lights installed in their windows. The documentary, *There Goes Our Neighbourhood,* was aired in November, 2018, on Australia's national public broadcaster, ABC television.

Figure 15 shows the towers lit up with the window lights in the weeks preceding the launch of the project. Clare said of the lights, *'they are a political act, a statement of presence to literally say "I live here". The lights are intended to make the towers visible' [Field notes, action group meeting, 7 February 2017].*

Figure 15: Matavai Tower light up for the WeLiveHere installation.
Source: WeLiveHere.

The lights served as strong visual beacons—the towers are by far the tallest buildings in the area, and being colourfully lit highlighted their central position in the neighbourhood. The lights became an important anchor for resident action after they were installed, a means of highlighting the residents' plight and reminding the community of the positive projects they could realise as a community. The lights were a means of broadcasting the crisis residents were facing, of bringing attention to the fact that the towers are home to many households:

> *Well, it's to make a statement, isn't it, that there are people living in these buildings. It's not just sort of this big black thing, it has lights in it, says 'look at me', there are people living in there who have a response to what's happening to them, but for everyone it's a loss of their home. So either you look at the lights as focusing on the fact that there are people living in the buildings, or as a sort of kind of wake, a celebration that they have lived here, and have real sorrow for the passing. [Catriona, interview, 31 October 2017]*

> *The meeting started with a discussion of WeLiveHere, which was launched last week. Joanne said 'we're in a permanent state of emergency. We need to keep them [the lights] there until these buildings come down' [Field notes, action group meeting, 19 September 2017]*

Della Porta and Diani note that protest has an important internal function in terms of generating a sense of collective identity (della Porta & Diani, 2006). Catriona, a Waterloo resident, related to me how the WeLiveHere project was useful in generating a means for reaching out to people who might not otherwise have been connected to the activism or to the community in general. Through contacting residents about installing lights in their windows, the project co-ordinators were able to bring many residents who were otherwise alienated or marginalised on board:

> *WeLiveHere—it really was difficult, you know, I really admire [project coordinators] Claire and Carolina, they were very persistent. It's a great idea in the first place…they had to work really hard to get the number of people to accept the lights in their windows. Once again, you see, [residents] were suspicious and really difficult and sometimes angry, but in the end, by really hard work, and using the foyers, the common areas, they made it look really wonderful at night, and then people started to talk about it. [Catriona, interview, 31 October 2017]*

> *Andrew said that visiting people in the buildings while installing lights helped [a local community development worker] become aware of the isolation many people are experiencing, made her want to do something about it. [Field notes, action group meeting, 19 September 2017]*

Della Porta and Diani also argue that techniques of bearing witness involve forms of action that seek to reflect the objective to be obtained as closely as possible: rather than an 'ends justify the means' approach, this is about attempting to create a vision for the future that is also the objective of the resistance (della Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 178). Both the tent embassy and WeLiveHere use means that illustrate their desired ends. The tent embassy involves the literal occupation of dispossessed space by Aboriginal community members, whose repossession of land rights and self-determination is both the objective of protest and the means through which the protest is practiced. For WeLiveHere, emphasising Waterloo as a home place and as a place of vibrant culture and community is the objective, as well as being the project's method. Further, through literally engaging with marginalised residents—knocking and their doors and inviting them to be involved in the art installation—the WeLiveHere project served to attend to the marginalisation and isolation experienced by

many people in social housing. The message is not just *delivered* via the protest: it is embedded in and symbolised and practiced *through* the method.

8.4 Subjectivities and identities

Foucault argues that contemporary struggles revolve around the question: 'who are we?' (Foucault, 1982, p. 781). That is, questions of subjectivities occupy a primary position in struggles and resistance. To reiterate, subjectivities are the results of power working to transform human beings into subjects. Just as governmental strategies involve the production and modification of subjectivities, new subjectivities and identities are constituted and modified through practices of resistance and activism (Death, 2010). Della Porta and Diani (2006) note that identity formation is an essential component of collective action: a process that involves the identification of various actors involved and the building of trust and connections between them.

Individuals can occupy more than one subject position at once. There is a process of constant adoption, subversion, modification, and refusal with regards to subjectivities. Resistance serves to both reify and refuse the subjectivities constructed by dominant governmental rationalities. Resistance produces new subjectivities, adopts dominant subjectivities, and constantly works to modify both. Subjectivity is not a static state, but is a process involving ongoing modifications (della Porta & Diani, 2006): subjectivities are dynamic and multiple, the result of constantly evolving power/social relations, and when I talk of the 'production' of subjectivities I note that these are constantly in flux, undergoing modification and constant change.

Collective action, argue Della Porta and Diani, cannot occur in the absence of a 'we', defined through shared traits and solidarity (della Porta & Diani, 2006)—shared identity is critical to activist projects. However, as I discuss, divergences among seemingly coherent groups present challenges to these ideas of 'we'.

8.4.1 Refusing stigmatised subjectivities

Foucault argued that perhaps the main task for resistance against (neo)liberal governmentalities is 'not to discover what we are', but to 'refuse what we are' (Foucault, 1982, p. 785). That is, to reject the subjectivities constructed for us by dominant governmental rationalities, to refuse to be subjectified in particular ways and to devise new subjectivities. Before I begin discussing how those resisting the redevelopment of Waterloo generate new subjectivities, I

want to first attend to how they rejected subjectivities produced for them by dominant discourses.

Waterloo residents, as public housing tenants, exist within a discursive context that sees them marginalised, stigmatised and infantilised (Arthurson, 2010; Garbin & Millington, 2012; Hastings, 2004; Wacquant, 2007). As described in the previous chapter, governmental rationalities produce subjectivities for public housing tenants that imagine them as incapable of looking after themselves, as irresponsible citizens failing to take care of their own lives. The rejection of stigmatised subjectivities has been documented as a key strategy of social housing tenants resisting privatisation (Watt, 2008).

Residents recognise the ways in which they are stigmatised and problematised through dominant discourse, how they are perceived by others and are portrayed in the media. This stigma was discussed often by action group members and Waterloo public housing residents, and my field notes are filled with examples:

> *Aunty Jill said: 'you can be a murderer and that's okay, but it's much worse if you're on welfare'. She said that [staff in government agencies] 'treat you as a germ, a second-class citizen… You feel like a prisoner. Like you're on parole'. [Field notes, capacity building workshop, 17 May 2017]*

> *Robert said that he feels there is a perception coming from government that 'housing tenants have low intelligence', that they 'don't need to be consulted' [Field notes, action group meeting, 17 January 2017]*

> *[The action group] then started talking about the media. Catriona said 'the article [in the* Sydney Morning Herald*] with [an interview with local resident] John was the first time the media has shown a positive image of the towers. Usually [journalists] find a 10-year old photo with broken bottles in the stairwells.' Residents are very aware of how negatively they are portrayed in the media, and find it very frustrating. [Field notes, action group meeting, 9 May 2017]*

Residents reject the notion that they can be identified primarily through their housing tenure. As Catriona noted in this interview, government representatives don't appear to approach residents as equals, but instead view them only as 'tenants':

> *'So I felt, and I still feel, even though Ann Skewes is a very nice person, and Rob Sullivan too, I still don't feel that they quite connect with the tenants as other human beings: we're*

> *tenants [to them]' [Catriona, interview, 31 October 2017]*[24]
>
> *'I think it's a good idea to have a tenants'—residents, I would rather call it anyway—a residents' group' [Catriona, interview, 31 October 2017]*

Action group members were very aware of the degree to which their identities were caught up with the stigmatisation of the public housing estate and that, perhaps to a greater extent than for citizens living in other tenures, their identity was tied to their housing tenure. They frequently discussed the perception that the public, the media and politicians have of public housing tenants. They addressed these notions often with humour, but also with some anger and frustration, and an eagerness to reject these subjectivities.

Through re-articulating these sentiments, mocking them and making fun of them, action group members staged some attempt to wrest back some control of their identities:

> *There was discussion about [the redevelopment involving] hundreds of truck movements a day, 24 hours. The group talked about what a disturbance this would be. Corinne joked 'what do we need sleep for? We've got nothing to get up for!', reflecting her awareness of stereotypes that public housing tenants are lazy. [Field notes, action group meeting, 7 February 2017]*

Action group members saw their activism around Waterloo as an opportunity to reject the stigmatised subjectivities produced for them through dominant discourses:

> *Robert said 'we need to keep attention here, to show that SBS was wrong to produce* Housos. *The most important thing from WeLiveHere has been to show how creative the community is.' [Field notes, action group meeting, 10 October 2017]*

Here, Robert is referring to a comedy series, *Housos*, aired on an Australian television channel, named for a derogatory term used by Australians to describe those living in public housing or 'housing commission', as public housing was previously known in NSW. The show portrayed public housing tenants in a poor light and was criticised for perpetuating stigma against public housing tenants (Arthurson, Darcy, & Rogers, 2014). Robert is arguing here that there is work to be done in rejecting the stigma that media perpetuates, and

[24] Ann Skewes and Rob Sullivan were bureaucrats from the Department of Family and Community Services and the NSW Land and Housing Corporation, respectively, who were the key 'faces' of the NSW Government at Waterloo.

praising the work that the WeLiveHere project achieved in showing the Waterloo community to be comprised of active, responsible and creative tenants of public housing.

A key outcome of the campaigns and events organised by the residents in response to the redevelopment appeared to be this very refusal of the assumption that residents were unable to advocate for themselves and represent their own interests. Residents often expressed pride in the community's ability to represent its own interests, working to emphasise the community as comprised of capable citizens. In the Q&A session following *Turning Towers*, a theatre performance put on by local residents about their experience of the redevelopment, Catriona, a participant in the theatre performance and member of the action group said:

> *I love the Waterloo estate, there is a thriving community, supportive networks through which to develop talents and support other people, I have never lived anywhere like here. [Catriona, field notes, Q&A* Turning Towers *performance, 17 March 2017].*

However, despite taking pride in the efforts of the local community, some harboured some concerns that participating in protest and opposition might serve to reinforce discourses of public housing tenants (and, more broadly, welfare recipients) as troublemakers:

> *If you make a fuss, you're seen as a troublemaker and given an orange flag. [John, field notes, action group meeting, 17 January 2017]*

Even a request to sign a petition was enough to foster concerns among some residents that they would be targeted for their participation in activism against the redevelopment. In my field notes, I recorded a discussion in which some residents expressed these fears:

> *One of the group members mentioned that people don't want to put their address on petitions, 'I don't want [the Government] knowing where I live'. This concern about not being identified as a troublemaker has come up repeatedly. People here feel very concerned that they will be threatened with the loss of their apartment or benefits if they cause trouble. They want to be involved but don't want their tenure jeopardised, they don't want anyone in the Department [of Family and Community Services] to have cause to be pissed off with them. [Field notes, action group meeting, 31 March 2017]*

Tenants worried about being singled out as troublesome tenants, and were fearful of the implications this might have for their tenancy and for their continued receipt of welfare payments. Further, there

appeared to be a concern that participation in activism might reinforce a stereotype of public tenants as troublemakers. Counter-conduct or resistance can work to simultaneously reify and undermine dominant rationalities (Death, 2010). The group members were aware that their participation in activism around the redevelopment could serve to both reinforce and refuse the dominant identities produced around public housing tenants, which see them stigmatised as irresponsible citizens.

Action group members worked to find a balance between making their voices heard and performing responsible citizenship, in order to refuse, rather than reify, this 'troublemaker' subjectivity. Through projects such as the alternative masterplan, the petition, WeLiveHere and the *Turning Towers* performance, they were working to apply agency in ways that would refuse the notion of them as inactive, irresponsible subjects without simultaneously reifying notions of them as troublemakers. There was a fine line to walk in managing to both practice resistance and reject the stigmatised subjectivities given to public tenants by dominant discourse—in practicing activism, tenants were almost by definition working to cause trouble.

8.4.2 The proud and responsible tenant

Foucault argued that we must 'imagine and build up what we could be' in order to escape governmental power (Foucault, 1982, p. 785). That is, as well as rejecting dominant subjectivities, we must produce for ourselves alternative subjectivities and new ways of conducting ourselves that run counter to governmental conduct.

The residents of Waterloo noted that through practicing resistance they were likely performing subjectivities that run counter to the expectations held for them in dominant discourse:

> *Joanne said 'It would be a revelation to them [the government] that we're aware of what's going on at all'. [Field notes, action group meeting, 28 February 2017]*

Merely practicing resistance, undertaking actions to advocate for their own interests, action group members are to some degree rejecting the subjectivity of the social housing tenant as lazy, unengaged and ignorant, produced by dominant discourse. However, in advocating for their own interests and acting upon their own agency, they are to some extent complying with governmental expectations that they will work to become more responsible and active citizens in their own governance. This bind parallels that discussed above about the 'troublemaker' subjectivity. As noted by Odysseos (2016), given the central role of self-responsibility in the production of governable subjects, it is perhaps not surprising that manifestations of counter-

conduct in the neoliberal context revolve around the subversion and redirection of processes of responsibilisation. (I note here that not all residents practiced resistance—and not all residents practiced resistance in this way. As I discuss in the following section, tenants diverged greatly with regards to their views on the redevelopment. My experience as reported here was focused on those members of the action group with whom I was engaged, rather than the tenant body as a whole).

Understood from a counter-conduct perspective, this subversion of governmental objectives is a lucid example of the role that resistance plays in simultaneously reifying and undermining dominant rationalities. By taking responsibility for advocating for their own interests, action group members might be seen to be becoming the responsible and active citizens—citizens participating in their own self-governance—that dominant governmental technologies conduct them towards. However, rather than working towards economic and housing 'independence', residents are exercising agency to advocate for their own interests *within* public housing, rather than using their agency to secure an exit *from* public housing. Action group members, then, are adopting the responsible citizen subjectivity expected of them by governmental discourse, but are subverting this by using this responsible citizenship to work towards objectives other than those advanced by governmental strategies.

Action group members appeared to be aware of this subversion, and appeared to take pride in performing their own version of this active and participating citizenship. This was articulated, for example, when the group was nominated for a local community award:

> *[The action group] has been nominated for a Redfern-Waterloo volunteer award… Robert got a bit teary talking about the awards, said he was very proud of the award. 'This means more to me than if I'd been given the Victoria Cross'. [Field notes, action group meeting, 2 May 2017]*

Robert was expressing pride in the recognition that the group's activities—external recognition for the hard work put in by the group was valued by Robert and the other members. In my research journal, I reflected on the pride that group members took in their role:

> *It seems that several of the residents at least really relish the opportunity to participate in the action group. Maybe it has given them some purpose that they did not feel they had before? Perhaps some kind of motivation, some external driver for action? Many members of the group are already tenant representatives or are quite active in the community in other ways—it seems to be that they derive a great deal of satisfaction and purpose from helping out in this way. Some*

> *of those who are more capable—especially those who are elderly but not frail or mentally ill—appear to see it as their duty towards their less-capable neighbours, to represent and advocate for them. The [weekly action group] meetings are generally reasonably well attended—people seem to like the opportunity to get together, seem to enjoy a sense that they are doing something, working towards something. I can sort of feel it in the atmosphere, this sense of having a purpose. [Research journal, 2 May 2017]*

The production and exercise of these new subjectivities almost appears at times to be the point of activism: many group members knew felt there was little hope for realising their demands with regards to the redevelopment, but felt that it was imperative that they protest anyway, that they shrug off the government's expectations that they behave as passive recipients of government decisions, that they demonstrate themselves as having the capacity to think about how things might be otherwise, and that they reject the government's efforts to conduct them in certain ways.

8.4.3 Divergent subjectivities

Reconciling disparate interests within a group is a key challenge in forming group subjectivities. Group solidarity and shared identity is key for activist projects, yet each member brings their own subjectivity with them to the group, and must find ways to negotiate how this fits with the group identity.

Many tenant activist projects have focused on developing 'intentional relationships' and 'community building to fortify residents' (Howard, 2014, p. xiii), focusing on community unity and shared bonds. However, these convergent subjectivities—these shared identities—do not always arise, and at times tenants must contend with divergence amongst subjectivities and tenant objectives.

In an incident that I recorded in my field notes, Robert, the action group leader, had a dispute with another public housing tenant following a meeting of the Waterloo Redevelopment Group. This tenant representative, Tim, a tenant in the poorly-maintained low-rise housing to the estate's south, is supportive of the redevelopment: I noted in my field notes at a subsequent meeting that Tim had stated in a meeting that he thinks the redevelopment 'will be a good thing for the area' and that he is 'looking forward to it' [Field notes, Waterloo Redevelopment Group, 19 April 2017]. Of course, Tim was far from being the only tenant who disagreed with the action group's stance and approach, though the voices of those who supported the redevelopment were rarely heard in consultation sessions.

Immediately following the end of a meeting of the Waterloo Redevelopment Group in early 2017, Tim and Robert engaged in a heated dispute. Robert appeared to be aggrieved that Tim was supportive of the redevelopment, perhaps because this dissent against the action group complicates the narrative around a united tenant movement. Robert related this to the action group afterwards, as I recorded in my field notes:

> *Robert told a story about nearly getting in 'fisticuffs' with one of the [tenant representatives]. I actually observed some of this at the time, after the meeting. Robert was being pretty aggressive, and it seemed the other guy was too… He talks about 'the warrior' in him coming out in these situations. [Field notes, action group meeting, 7 February 2017].*

Tim's views fundamentally conflicted with the action group's understanding of tenant identity, founded not only through shared tenure but through shared values and beliefs.

Action group members appear to believe that what unites them is their tenure. Their tenancy is equated with acceptance of certain values, around fairness, class and justice, that they believe are threatened the redevelopment project. By contradicting this notion of their shared values and beliefs, Tim was presenting a challenge to their understanding of a shared subjectivity and collective identity among public housing tenants. The presence of public housing tenants who do not oppose the redevelopment challenges the residents' subjectivities through presenting a divergence in this notion of 'we' generated by—and reified through—the group's actions.

8.4.4 Constructing the 'other'

In addition to construction the 'we'—the shared identity of the activist—construction of the 'other' is critical for constituting shared identity (della Porta & Diani, 2006).

The production of subjectivities by non-state actors is not often attended to in studies of governmentality. Death, in undertaking a Foucauldian analytics of protest, asks how the state is changed through acts of protest (Death, 2010). However, he does so primarily through looking at how the *state changes itself* in response to protest—that is, how protest gives rise to new kinds of knowledge and ways of understanding the state (Death, 2010)—rather than interrogating how protestors might generate new identities for the state and state actors. Beyond a brief mention of the ways in which 'polarisation' of political identities emerges through protest, Death pays little attention to how protestors construct identities for state actors. This is, I suggest, representative of the literature more broadly,

in which it is often assumed that the state generates identities for all (and that subjects might work to refute and modify these), but in which the generation of subjectivities that modify and alter the subjectivities of state actors—that is, the *generation of subjectivities by non-state actors*—is rarely interrogated. In this section, I pay attention to the ways in which activists construct the 'other'.

For the action group, this 'other' is generally identified as the NSW State Government. The Government is seen as the perpetrators of the injustices against which the community is mobilising. What this means, however, is tricky when it comes to specifics. The action group members speak frequently of 'the government' as the source of their grievances and the object of their actions, however this remains a vague notion.

Group members on occasion focus their attention on specific political figures, especially the State Premier (which changed to NSW Liberal Gladys Berejiklian after the resignation of Mike Baird—also NSW Liberal—while my fieldwork was underway):

> *Joanne said '[Premier] Baird's decision making was just all bad.' [Field notes, action group meeting, 28 February 2017]*

> *John… asked 'why aren't we putting more effort into getting rid of the government? Of Gladys?' [Field notes, action group meeting, 20 June 2017]*

Targeting Government representatives such as politicians was, however, complicated by those actors' efforts to deflect responsibility. The then-Minister for Social Housing, at a community meeting, attempted to argue that the redevelopment decision was out of his hands:

> *[Minister for Social Housing] Brad Hazzard said that the decision to redevelop [Waterloo] was between [the Department of] Transport and the Treasury—he seems to be claiming he was left out the loop. Some effort there to absolve himself and the department of responsibility? [Field notes, community meeting, 11 February 2016]*

Foucault understands the governmental state as diffuse. Its power and activity is no longer concentrated in a single figurehead—the sovereign—but rather is dispersed throughout various agencies, actors and networks. Though a head of state or parliament may *appear* to be the place at which power is concentrated, power is exerted and practiced through a whole web of agencies, technologies and actors who work variously to realise—and, at times, resist—governmental rationalities. The profusion of government departments and agencies responsible for various aspects of the redevelopment of Waterloo was extraordinary, with at least a half dozen agencies having direct roles

in the redevelopment. This caused confusion among tenants, who were often unable to differentiate between various departments and their roles. I noted some of this confusion in some reflections in my field notes following a meeting in early 2017:

> *The [action] group seems constantly confused about which government agency is responsible for which aspect of the redevelopment. There are several agencies involved—Urban Growth, Urban Growth Development Corporation, Land and Housing Corporation, FACS [Department of Family and Community Services), Housing NSW (part of FACS), as well as initiatives including Communities Plus, the District Planning process, etc.—and the group seems unclear about who is responsible for which aspect, who should be consulting with them, who will be making decisions. The profusion of agencies involved and the complexity of their jurisdiction and influence does seem to be an important factor… no-one is ever quite sure who they're talking about, who has the final decision. It makes protest difficult: who are they protesting, who makes decisions, who should they be lobbying? It's apparent to me that the group doesn't clearly understand the constellation of agencies involved and how they all fit in. Not understanding the landscape that one is trying to work in feels like a serious challenge. [Field notes, action group meeting, 17 January 2017]*

Reviewing my field notes, I notice that much discussion centres around a vague 'they'—referring variously to government departments, agencies, staff and politicians. This 'they' was the object of a great deal of discussion and concern, but the group was rarely able to specify who 'they' referred to. Members of the group at times were unsure about which department or minister was responsible for decision making about a particular issue, making it difficult to know where to direct their attention in opposition to a specific aspect of the redevelopment project. The complexity of the Government as an entity meant that targeting opposition at those parts responsible for decisions was difficult, as often the specific responsibilities of various agencies remained unknown to the action group.

The action group's construction of these government agencies as the 'other' was further complicated by efforts to construct these agencies as neutral 'partners' in the redevelopment process:

> *Rob Sullivan talked about the engagement process and the recruitment of KJA, the consultants. Rob described [the NSW State Government Land and Housing Corporation] as a 'participant' in the engagement process and not the leader. [Field notes, Waterloo redevelopment group, 21 June 2017]*

Here, the Government's representative is attempting to frame the Government as a neutral actor in a process of decision making. This works to camouflage the significant differential access to power between residents and the Government in this context, obscuring the ways in which the Land and Housing Corporation, and the Government more broadly, occupy an antagonistic position with the action group in relation to the redevelopment.

At times, the action group's anger and attention was also targeted towards international students or middle-class households who will be the gentrifiers in future Waterloo, however these are vague and hypothetical 'others' who exist only in the abstract, rather than a concrete 'other' towards which resistance can be directed. Residents use a vague notion of 'they' to refer to incoming gentrifying households: 'They'll all be rich international students' [Corinne, field notes, action group meeting, 14 March 2017] and 'they're subsuming our community' [Joanne, field notes, action group meeting, 14 March 2017]. (This 'they'—especially with regards to international students—might also be tangled up with some degree of xenophobic (specifically, anti-Asian) sentiment amongst tenants, linked to a similar undercurrent of sentiment in broader Australian political discourse. This sentiment manifests especially in debates around urban change (Nelson, 2014). This sentiment was never *explicitly* articulated, but was suggested, I believe, by repeated concerns stated not just about students but about *international* students.) As an object for resistance, however, this 'they' is slippery and evasive, more a hypothetical notion that a real figure towards which resistance might be directed.

The diffuse nature of government in neoliberal contexts complicates counter-conduct through making government an evasive target for resistance. The slippery nature of governing agencies in neoliberal contexts makes it difficult to point the finger at any particular individuals or organisations as having responsibility for certain aspects of government. Nonetheless, those resisting work to produce subjectivities for those in subject positions of greater power, and these subjectivities do work to destabilise the taken-for-granted status of these actors. The ways in which those resisting generate alternative subjectivities for those in power warrants greater attention due to the potential for reminding us that 'the state' is comprised of individual actors, for encouraging rethinking of how these actors are constituted, and for exploring the ways in which resistance involves productive, and not merely repressive, forces.

8.5 Conclusion

The overarching question I aim to explore in this thesis is *How might*

we think about resistance to neoliberalism? In this chapter, I have undertaken an analytics of resistance to tease apart how resistance has proceeded in the case of Waterloo, with a view to exploring *How is the government of Waterloo resisted?*

Undertaking an analytics of resistance here has allowed me to view resistance as something productive: no longer does it appear only as a negative force, a movement that says 'no'. Instead, resistance appears as something productive: it produces, modifies and reifies particular ways of seeing and ways of knowing, it creates and uses technologies of power and works to create and modify subjectivities. The analytics of government pays attention to resistance not just as a reaction to governmental power but as a rationality in and of itself, that uses strategies and technologies to achieve its objectives. Within studies of governmentalities, Dean's analytics has generally been applied to understand the practices of dominant actors, such as states, but has rarely been applied to understand how the practices of those resisting are constituted. Rather than relegating resistance to merely a postscript following detailed analytics of government, turning the analytical lens on resistance allows us to understand it as a power relation that has transformative and productive potential. I have demonstrated the ways in which the conceptual tools already at our disposal—such as the analytics of government I have used here—can be applied to draw out a picture of regimes of practices relevant to resistance.

This Foucauldian lens also allows us to see that resistance involves relations of power that simultaneously reify and counter dominant rationalities and strategies. Resistance is not merely a negative or reactive force against governmental power, but rather undermines and challenges, at the same time as reifying, dominant rationalities. Understanding this not merely as a 'failing' of resistance but as a *fundamental aspect* of resistance allows us to better understand the interactions between dominant power and resistance.

As Foucault argued, there is nothing qualitatively different about power and resistance, merely that we can *conceptualise* resistance as being that which is taken up by those in positions of lesser power—the difference between the two is analytical rather than ontological. Resistance movements, like governmental regimes, rely on certain forms of knowledge, produce particular subjectivities, use technologies of power and bring things into view in specific ways. By focusing on what resistance movements *produce*—rather than simply on what they resist—we bring them into view as having the potential to reject the taken-for-granted and demonstrate how things could be otherwise.

Identifying the tendency of resistance to simultaneously undermine and reify neoliberalism is perhaps a key advantage of the

governmentality approach. The approach encourages us to see resistance not in terms of its successes and failures, but rather how it works to refute dominant subjectivities as well as and at the same time as it reifies these.

Part 3: Practicing resistance

Chapter 9. Practicing counter-conduct

The Waterloo action group came together around a common goal: preventing the redevelopment. While the group appeared relatively united about their goal at this highest level, on a pragmatic, week-to-week basis, they remained highly divided on questions about *how* to resist.

In this chapter, I want to explore the challenges that arose for the group in practicing resistance. I apply the notion of 'counter-conduct' as a means to explore their experience, but also to understand how we might approach resistance differently.

Counter-conduct, as introduced in Chapter 2, refers to types of resistance aimed specifically at liberal and neoliberal forms of rule that work through the freedoms of the individual, through the conduct of conduct (Foucault, 2004b). 'Counter-conduct' refers not to resistance as total revolution, but rather a rejection of being conducted *like that or in that way* or *towards those ends* (Foucault, 2004b). Rossdale and Stierl describe counter-conduct as a means of challenging some but not all ways of being led—'alter-conduct' rather than 'anti-conduct' (Rossdale & Stierl, 2016, p. 161).

I want to see what comes to light when we understand the residents' practice of resistance as counter-conduct—especially around negotiating questions of whether to protest or participate, about how to formulate demands and how to handle government assistance. I am also curious about the layers of conduct and counter-conduct that emerge *within* a site of resistance, and in this chapter I explore the ways in which sites of resistance do not exist in some space external to power but are indeed imbricated in and replicate power relations that both reinforce as well as undermine governmental power.

What I explore here is how counter-conduct might help trouble the idea of resistance, which I argue is too often seen (by both scholars and those practicing resistance) as a simple binary between the powerful and the powerless, or between repression and resistance, or between regulation and liberation. Instead, counter-conduct—building as it does on a Foucauldian conception of power—leaves room for co-constitution, for both reifying and undermining

dominant power relations, and for multiple layers of conduct and counter-conduct.

My explorations throughout this chapter look at the challenges faced by the group in practicing resistance. I think that these questions around *how* resistance is practiced are increasingly important, especially given the nature of neoliberal government, and the ways in which resistance is made difficult by the pervasive neoliberal rationalities and the presence of a power that conducts citizens' conduct. Further, given claims to a 'post-political' era, which sees dissent silenced through techniques of consultation, consensus and technocratic and bureaucratic technologies of government (Rosol, 2014), questions about how to 'do' resistance are increasingly relevant.

9.1 Counter-conduct

Counter-conduct was not necessarily a prominent concept within Foucault's work—indeed, he spent little time developing it beyond his discussion of it in his lectures of 1977-1978, published as *Security, Territory, Population* (Foucault, 2004b). It provides, however, a useful jumping-off point for understanding resistance to the specific mode of power present in neoliberal contexts.

Foucault was interested in the specific instances of resistance that appeared in response to a form of government concerned with the conduct of conduct—the Christian pastorate (Foucault, 2004b, p. 194). These specific resistances had as their objective 'wanting to be conducted differently, towards other objectives…through other procedures and methods' (Foucault, 2004b, p. 195). 'Counter-conduct', then, is not about global struggles or revolution, it refers instead to specific struggles against processes implemented for conducting others (Foucault, 2004b, p. 201).

The notion of counter-conduct should be put to work in the context of a Foucauldian understanding of power and resistance. That is, when conceptualising resistance as counter-conduct, resistance should never be thought of in the absence of power or as a movement external to power, or even as one moving towards a space external from power. Rather it should be understood that, from a Foucauldian perspective, resistance itself is a power relation. As discussed previously, we should also not take resistance or counter-conduct as anything qualitatively different from power—counter-conduct is an exercise of power in itself. Further, Foucault does not see counter-conduct as merely reactive, he argues there exists an 'immediate and founding correlation' between conduct and counter-conduct (Foucault, 2004b, p. 196).

In *The Subject and Power,* Foucault talks of struggles that are not 'anti-authority' struggles but struggles which assert the individual's right to be different, which struggle against the 'government of individualisation', which struggle against regimes of knowledge, and which involve a refusal of abstractions and revolve around the question 'who are we?' (Foucault, 1982, p. 781). These are not, he argues, struggles against a particular class or group but rather against a technique of power (Foucault, 1982, p. 781).

Throughout this thesis I refer to counter-conduct both as a practice and an approach. Much like both Foucault and authors in the secondary literature refer to 'governmentality' both as a thing in itself—a way of governing—and as an approach to understand government, I approach 'counter-conduct' as both a *practice that occurs* and *as a way of conceptualising resistance* to governmental power.

Counter-conduct has been applied in such diverse disciplines as international relations/global studies (Bulley, 2016; Death, 2010, 2011, 2016; Demetriou, 2016; Drozynski, 2016; Odysseos, 2016; Rossdale & Stierl, 2016; Sokhi-Bulley, 2016), political science (Malmvig, 2014; Strömbom, 2017), sociology (Doğruel & Leman, 2009), education (Niesche, 2013, 2015), security studies (Bulley, 2014), geography (Massey, 2014; Pieck, 2015; Rosol, 2014), environmental and energy policy studies (Armstrong, 2005; Arsel, Hogenboom, & Pellegrini, 2016; Death, 2006), development studies (Kotsila & Saravanan, 2017), and accounting (Bigoni & Funnell, 2015; Boomsma & O'Dwyer, 2018), among others. Indeed, Demetriou notes that a key feature of counter-conduct is its 'breadth': it politicises the everyday, and locates resistance and politics everywhere (Demetriou, 2016, p. 218), meaning that it can be explored across an enormous range of contexts. Though several urban geographers have made use of the notion of counter-conduct, the concept has been scantly applied in housing research, despite a reasonable level of interest in governmentality approaches from housing scholars.

Counter-conduct has been explored as a practice performed by individuals (Foucault, 2004b; Niesche, 2015), social movements (especially global movements such as Occupy, see (Bulley, 2016; Death, 2010; Odysseos, 2016; Rosol, 2014; Rossdale & Stierl, 2016)), groups of individuals not necessarily organised into social movements but nonetheless acting in concert (Sokhi-Bulley, 2016), and even entire nation states in relation to trans-national movements (Cebeci, 2016), demonstrating that the practice might be observed over an enormous range of scales.

Counter-conduct allows for a nuanced approach to resistance, encouraging scholars to step outside the 'dilemma of being for or against' (Death, 2016, p. 211) and working in a more complicated

space, in which one can work with and be intransigent at the same time (Bulley, 2016; Doğruel & Leman, 2009), and in which we can pay attention to practices that might elsewhere be dismissed as 'insufficiently transformative' (Death, 2016, p. 216). Indeed, Rosol explores the ways in which residents of Vancouver engaged in enacting counter-conducts not in *refusal* of city development but rather demanding the *implementation* of these policies—a position that appears far from 'revolutionary' (Rosol, 2014, p. 71). In this respect, counter-conduct is useful for looking at resistances that do not say *we do not want to be governed at all* but which say *we do not want to be governed like that* (Rosol, 2014).

A focus on resistance as counter-conduct also allows scholars to dispense with the common government/resistance dualism. Rossdale and Stierl show, by looking for layers of conduct and counter-conduct within the Occupy movement, how a counter-conduct approach to resistance can bring to light the ways in which resistance 'excludes, ignores, privileges', despite aiming for horizontality (Rossdale & Stierl, 2016, p. 158).

Counter-conduct, in contrast to other conceptualisations of resistance, is non-normative. It does not hold 'total revolution' as an aim or a benchmark. Counter-conduct might, for example, 'mould subjectivities', but it does not determine particular forms of action (Demetriou, 2016, p. 223).

Counter-conduct has been applied in tandem with the notion of the 'post-political' city/state, for example by Rosol (2014) and Odysseos (2016). The post-political city can be understood in terms of a power which conducts, especially through the use of expert knowledge and technologies of citizenship that see dissent co-opted in the name of consensus. Rosol's use of a counter-conduct approach to resistance, for example, allows her to identify instances of resistance that occur *within* (and not just *against*) citizen engagement with post-political state and bureaucratic processes (Rosol, 2014).

Drozynski (2016) uses the example of the construction of a church in Soviet-era Poland to demonstrate how counter-conducts can work to undermine diverse aspects of governing. The erection of a church in a planned town, he argues, not only served to counter the urban form associated with Soviet rule, but also worked to refute the subjectivity of '*homo Sovieticus*' which was used to guide the conduct of Polish citizens in specific ways. Through their association with the newly-constructed church, citizens engaged with alternative subjectivities that worked to alter the dominant subjectivities produced for them. Smiles (2018) similarly explores how indigenous struggles against Minnesotan autopsy laws were connected to indigenous knowledge and subjectivities that worked to refute dominant ways of knowing and being—a struggle against a law, here, emerges as a struggle for

forms of truth and against certain modes of subjectification.

Important, too, in this notion of counter-conduct is the way in which we can avoid the 'heroification' of the resisting subject (Rossdale & Stierl, 2016, p. 162). Foucault notes in *Security, Territory, Population* that counter-conduct means that we do not have to give 'a sacred status' to people engaged in resistance (Foucault, 2004b, p. 202). In revealing the ways in which members of the Occupy movement reproduced dominant forms of the conduct of conduct, Rossdale and Stierl avoid any heroification of the movement, and show how resistance may (often unintentionally) replicate the very modes of government it serves to refute. While not explicitly adopting a 'counter-conduct' approach, Murray Li in her ethnography of governmentality refuses to position those resisting as 'heroes contesting power from the outside' but rather draws on her Foucauldian approach to understand how their struggles have been formed within power's matrices (2007, p. 29). This avoidance of heroification can also help direct attention toward 'less spectacular' and 'more subtle' forms of resistance (Malmvig, 2014, p. 293)—as demonstrated by Malmvig in her exploration of Arab state interactions with the European Union—which might be ignored in more traditional approaches to resistance that focus on revolution.

Death argues that to neglect counter-conduct diminishes the broader study of governmentality, and that failing to attend to the ways in which the conduct of conduct is resisted misses out on much of what makes a governmentality approach 'fruitful and interesting' (Death, 2016, p. 202). Further, a focus on counter-conduct avoids the risk of furthering a 'hegemonic and all-pervasive' understanding of neoliberalism that studies of governmentalities are often accused of generating (Death, 2016, p. 209).

9.2 Objectives

A key struggle for the action group was settling on the range of demands that they were making through their resistance. Vaguely and broadly, it was agreed that the group was protesting the redevelopment, but they struggled to agree on objectives and demands or on a specific articulation of which aspects they were opposed to.

Some group members were very clear about their objectives and goals—they wanted to stop the redevelopment program altogether, preventing any demolitions or relocations and stopping the sale or lease of public assets to private developers:

> *Corinne mentioned coming up with a charter that says they [the action group] want all public housing retained, and that*

> *which cannot be retained must be replaced after demolition. [Field notes, action group meeting, 21 February 2017]*

However, establishing the group's goals were the source of a great degree of contention within the group. In my field notes, I recorded the following discussion in one meeting in which the group was debating its strategy:

> *But Robert said, 'taking on the government would be a disadvantage, we're in a position to negotiate. They know what we want now. We have to be realistic and see what we can get'. John said again, pretty emphatically, that he doesn't want to negotiate, he doesn't want the redevelopment: 'I'm not prepared to compromise. I am totally opposed to the redevelopment.' [Field notes, action group meeting, 20 June 2017]*

The group was divided about how to establish goals that were achievable but that reflected their vision for the future of the neighbourhood. This is similar to what Wright (2006) describes as occurring in Chicago in response to transformation of social housing, in which residents were unsure whether to support the objectives of the 'official' tenant group (a more 'pragmatic' approach) or to continue to stage resistance. While some action group members thought that negotiation was a practical, achievable and desirable outcome, several group members were concerned that aiming only to secure negotiation about the redevelopment—rather than opposing it entirely—represented a capitulation to the government's strategy, as I captured in my field notes in this exchange:

> *Joanne said 'We've laid down and rolled over a bit… This community has been here for years, it shouldn't have to change due to the greed of developers and politicians… we need to fight for the whole estate'.*
>
> *John agreed with Joanne, saying 'We need to keep fighting. I'm all for fighting. No redevelopment at all'.*
>
> *Joanne challenged the group: 'I thought we were here to defend the community's right to stay here, we need to be fighting for this, not anything else, I thought we wanted to stop them knocking the buildings down.' [Field notes, action group meeting, 19 September 2017]*

In response to these provocations by Joanne and John, Robert, the group's leader, proclaimed that his two priorities were negotiating the proportion of affordable (not social) housing on the estate and securing leases for Aboriginal housing on the estate. He argued that he thought that the sale of affordable housing dwellings through a rent-to-buy scheme could be a positive option. These supposed

priorities appeared to be surprising to the members of the group. Corinne and Joanne disagreed firmly with Robert's stance, arguing that the group should set more ambitious objectives:

> *Corinne: 'Selling anything off is a bad idea—once it's gone, it's gone forever. If there's more public housing then everyone can live here. We should be just saying "don't sell it". Income-based housing provided by the government is invaluable'.*
>
> *Joanne: 'We've been sitting on our backsides doing nothing. That's why I joined this group, to make clear that we won't accept this redevelopment. By the time you talk about looking at leases, you've already lost. For the Indigenous community, decent housing is the building block—stable housing is our first priority.' [Field notes, action group meeting, 19 September 2017]*

One of the clearest and most useful examples of counter-conduct illuminated in the literature is the Occupy movement's refusal to issue a set of demands to governments (Bulley, 2016; Rossdale & Stierl, 2016). This refusal is an outright rejection not just of the content of neoliberal politics and governance but of its *form*—its technologies and strategies. By refusing to issue demands, Occupy refused to be conducted in such a way as to conform to the existing system of politics and resistance.

The stance taken by Occupy is, however far from how I would characterise what occurred at Waterloo. The lack of clear demands and agreed-upon goals did not stem from a refusal to conform to the expectations of the state, but rather due to an inability of the group to settle on a set of objectives. This should not, however, be conceptualised as purely the result of internal chaos and differences of opinion, but might be better understood as stemming from the challenges of resisting a power that conducts.

Counter-conducts are 'deeply interpenetrated' with the forms of government they oppose (Death, 2016, p. 202). Governmental rationalities and technologies of power are not merely external forces, they are internalised. The logics and rationalities that constitute governing rationalities are, therefore, ever-present within practices of counter-conduct. Governmental discourse around programs like the redevelopment project posit such events as inevitabilities. Possibilities for alternatives beyond the bounds they establish are obscured. For residents to protest the redevelopment required them to imagine how things might be otherwise, to see how the redevelopment was not inevitable—as governmental strategies worked to make it seem—but as merely one (contingent) possibility for the future. Engaging in protest required them to understand that

other futures might be possible.

Governmental strategies have made alternative futures seem so unlikely that many action group members felt unable to see those possibilities at all. Discourse effectively closed off all options except negotiations on a limited set of parameters. Group members were unsure whether to stick to their guns and campaign for a complete halt to the redevelopment, or to strive for something more 'realistic' by setting their sights on negotiating a limited range of demands. This notion of certain actions as 'realistic' or 'pragmatic' can be seen here as a product of governmental rationalities: given the appearance of the redevelopment as inevitable, certain strategies come to be framed as 'realistic' while others seemed (to certain action group members, at least) misguided or falsely optimistic.

Death notes that a counter-conducts approach might help to 'escape the dilemma of merely being for or against' (Death, 2016, p. 211). This is indeed useful in analytical terms, allowing us to conceptualise resistance as much broader than simply 'saying no'. But what this might look like in practice remains somewhat unclear, especially in the face of governmental rationalities that are effective in making certain futures appear inevitable.

9.3 Opposition or participation

> *[Housing scholars David Madden and Peter Marcuse] state that the best—and Jane Jacobs supports this—that the best you can actually do, the best strategy, is to oppose. Do not negotiate, but oppose, and make yourself a nuisance! But Robert has never done that. He has always backed off. I remember in the beginning he said that he'd negotiated for this leapfrogging[25] business, but you know that's right out of the picture now, it has been for a long time. And it seems to me each step of the way, along the way he has backed off from actual confrontation with [Housing NSW]. [Catriona, interview, 31 October 2017]*

Whereas conventional understandings of resistance tend to focus on total revolution and might rely on understandings of power and resistance as a simple binary, counter-conduct provides for ways of being that are both for and against (Death, 2010, p. 238).

However 'tired and reductive' (Rossdale & Stierl, 2016, p. 158) the

[25] 'Leapfrogging' is the name given to the planned redevelopment strategy in which residents will be moved directly into newly-built housing on site, rather than relocated off site first.

power/resistance binary may be, it is not only dominant in scholarly work but is present in the conceptualisations of resistance held by many practicing activism. Indeed, this appeared to be the case amongst many action group members at Waterloo. The action group members were torn about *how* to engage in resistance. In particular, they struggled to resolve a question around protest versus negotiation: participation in government processes seemed like capitulation to many members of the group, but protest might have seemed futile, like shouting into empty space.

Questions about how to most effectively engage in resistance against the redevelopment surfaced repeatedly in meetings. There existed a division between those tenants who thought that participating in the Government's consultation program was a necessity to have their views taken on board, and those who thought that participating in community consultation was a mistake for the group, such as Matthew and John:

> *'Why are you bothering to be involved in community consultation at all if you are totally opposed to the redevelopment?' [Matthew, Field notes, action group meeting, 21 February 2017].*

> *I'm not sure why we need consultation given we don't want the redevelopment. They [the government representatives] can fuck off!' [John, Field notes, action group meeting, 21 February 2017].*

For Matthew and John, participation in such processes lent legitimacy and tacit agreement to the process. Further, it seemed to be represent to these tenants an admission of the inevitability of the redevelopment project.

These debates about how best to practice resistance to the redevelopment, which were fairly frequently discussed in action group meetings, came to a head in early 2017. At this point, Elizabeth, the architect who was working with the group and had proposed the alternative masterplan process, was approached by a consortium of companies who were bidding for a Government contract to undertake the masterplanning for the estate. This consortium claimed to be interested in centring and prioritising current tenants' perspectives and wanted Elizabeth to be part of the consortium as a conduit to ensure the view of the action group and other tenants were heard. The group engaged in a lengthy discussion about its potential involvement in the masterplanning process, in which many contradictory opinions were shared. My field notes capture many of the perspectives shared, and I will quote from them at length here:

> *The main part of the discussion centred around the fact that*

Jamie Madden, an architect working for a Sydney-based firm, asked Elizabeth if she would like to be involved in their tender bid for the masterplan for the Waterloo redevelopment. The tender is out at the moment, and groups can request the tender documents if they sign confidentiality agreements. Elizabeth noted her own discomfort with this proposal, in particular with the fact that it would mean working within the program, and working with lots of middle-aged white men. She seemed uncomfortable with the idea but is aware of the opportunities it represents. She said she feels a little sickened by the idea of working within the system in this way, that she would prefer to be a 'punk operator', a stirrer outside the system, than be working within it. She invited everyone at the meeting to share their thoughts.

Catriona noted that it could be a good way to get tenant engagement in the masterplanning process. Pratichi asked whether we know what the brief involves: are the buildings definitely to be knocked down or is that up for negotiation? It doesn't seem clear yet whether these things have been determined, and these are obviously the key questions that the residents want input on resolving. Residents would want to know how many parameters remain to be determined before they would support a bid. Elizabeth is not yet sure about this, she hasn't yet seen the documentation, and it will be confidential when she does.

Corinne said she sees the value in being involved in the tender, there would be someone actually listening to us, we wouldn't just be creating a wish list, we wouldn't just be saying 'I wish'. Beth thinks that it sounds worthwhile, supported the idea of being involved in a way that meant there was more chance of realising actual change.

John said emphatically 'no'. He feels that the cost of losing independence is far too high, they'd have to sign confidentiality agreements and would be unable to act freely. 'I have no trust whatsoever in these people [the government], legally they can set you up. It's like entering the devil's lair, crossing to their side. You'll get chained in a box, they'll get their way.'

Matthew said that he is totally opposed to the redevelopment, and that he thinks that we shouldn't be involved in a tender that will be planning for the redevelopment. He says he disagrees with being involved but would still support the action group if they feel that is the right decision for them. [Field notes, action group meeting,

24 January 2017].

The crux of the group's challenge was that being inside the process meant potentially being co-opted and lending legitimacy to the process, while remaining outside meant potentially remaining on the sidelines while key decisions were made elsewhere. Being inside the process might mean having access to documents and influence in decision-making processes, but it could also involve binding the group to contractual agreements and confidentiality clauses. While staying outside the process would provide an opportunity to raise voices, protest and organise, it could also mean remaining blind to the process through which decisions are being made.

The NSW Government intended that this tender, being a technocratic process, would be taken up by private companies with expertise in urban planning, property development and community consultation. Residents of Waterloo were, in this construction, to be passive recipients of the masterplanning consultation, rather than active players in the masterplanning process. Proposing the insertion of residents' voices into the masterplanning process itself looks, in this light, like a practice of counter-conduct, and *not only* a threat of co-optation of resistance.

The group's hopes for participating in the masterplanning process were to influence the outcomes in order that they might align more strongly with residents' views. The masterplan is a highly technocratic process, involving expert studies, urban planning technologies and consultation processes with local stakeholders. Through the technology of the masterplan, contentious and violent processes are presented as technical matters for resolution with data collected and studies performed by experts. Such masterplanning processes are key technologies for decision-making in the post-political city (Rosol, 2014). Group members, understandably, had concerns that their participation in the masterplanning process could serve to reinforce or bolster the legitimacy of the program.

Ultimately, the consortium's tender bid was not selected by the NSW Government to undertake the masterplanning process, so the decision was made for the group—they were to remain outside the process. This meant that their main opportunity for inclusion within the official process was through the community engagement program established by the government to consult with tenants about the redevelopment. This, too, raised similar questions about whether the group should be participating or boycotting as protest. This excerpt from my field notes records one discussion about such themes:

There was a discussion about whether the group should be attending the government's meetings such as the Waterloo Redevelopment Group meeting [a meeting of local

> *community representatives with State government representatives to plan the consultation process] on Wednesdays. Simon said 'we need to attend, otherwise we have nothing. There could always be a trap, getting us to agree to what they've already planned to do. But we must attend, otherwise we have nothing'.*
>
> *Catriona responded: 'we need to be careful we don't get caught negotiating on small things week-to-week but can't see the big picture. [The Land and Housing Corporation] is pulling everyone from one issue to another'.*
>
> *Connie asked a question about whether by participating we are giving them legitimacy; 'should we refuse to attend so that they can't claim to have been consultative?' No one really knew how to answer her question. [Field notes, action group meeting, 19 September 2017].*

The group constantly oscillated between these positions—whether to protest or participate, and tossed up what the consequences of these actions might be: would they 'have nothing' if they did not participate, as Simon suggested, or were they 'giving them legitimacy' as Connie feared, reifying the authority of the government agency to make decisions on behalf of the residents?

The action group are far from alone in facing these dilemmas. Hamel argues that a broad 'pragmatic turn' took place following the 1980s in which urban movements began to seek alliances with public actors, transforming an antagonistic relation into one of negotiation and cooperation (P. Hamel, 2000, p. 164). This process is what is often referred to as the 'post-political city' (Rosol, 2014). The 'post-political' city has been presented as a means of conceptualising a paradigm of urban decision-making and planning in which conflict and dissent are captured within consensus and consultation processes, silencing protest and minimising conflict and antagonism in urban change (Rosol, 2014). These forms of knowledge and technologies of government inevitably become a key factor in citizens' understanding of how they are governed, and in turn, how they govern themselves. As noted by Hamel, the progressive nature of urban social movements is increasingly threatened by such relationships with the state.

Perhaps what makes this particularly challenging is the ways in which tenants' very subjectivities are at stake. Being cast as irresponsible citizens was a concern for many of the members of the action group. As public housing tenants, they already experience a great deal of stigma (Arthurson, 2004; Atkinson & Jacobs, 2008; Hastings, 2004; Wacquant, 2007), and are frequently cast as irresponsible and dependent citizens in need of improvement (Manzi, 2010; McKee, 2008a). Protesting and refusing to participate in consultation

processes threatens to further entrench this image of them as unruly, irresponsible citizens. Many of those tenants involved in the action group were participating in tenant representation processes, in many ways practicing the very kind of responsible citizenship encouraged through new management techniques in social housing (Bradley, 2008; Manzi, 2010). They appear, at least to some extent, to be reluctant to undo the hard work of practicing this responsible citizenship, worried they'll be seen as 'ratbag' tenants.

This may also be why invitations to meet with Ministers and government representatives hold particular appeal—these invitations into the 'halls of power' suggest a conferring of legitimacy and dignity onto citizens often marginalised, stigmatised and silenced. Robert, the group's leader, often described getting in the 'corridors of government' as a key strategy for representing tenants, and talked proudly—boastfully, even—of securing meetings with the former Minister for Social Housing, Brad Hazzard, and government representatives such as the Land and Housing Corporation's Community Engagement Director.

Residents feel compelled to participate in these official processes despite a deep mistrust in the consultation project and the potential for resident input to actually have influence on the outcomes of the redevelopment. Their understanding of resistance as being in binary opposition to power meant that they felt compelled to nominate a particular course of action and remain true to that 'side'.

9.4 Representation

The literature often treats spaces of resistance or counter-conduct as open, inclusive and unproblematic (Rossdale & Stierl, 2016), conceptualising these spaces as somehow 'outside' power. These perspectives risk obscuring the ways in which these movements practice their own modes of conduct.

Resistance cannot claim to escape relations of power, as it is itself an exercise of power. There is, then, some imperative to interrogate how relations of power work *within* sites of counter-conduct. Foucault notes in *Security, Territory, Population* that it would 'be interesting to see' how various insurrections have effects upon revolutionary processes themselves, 'how they were controlled and taken in hand, and what was their specificity, form and internal law of development' (Foucault, 2004b, p. 228).

New forms of knowledge and acceptable practice emerge within resistance groups, and act as means of conducting the conduct of members. And, in response, there arises inevitable counter-conduct—

debate and resistance about what constitutes appropriate behaviour and legitimate resistance (Rossdale & Stierl, 2016).

I explore this idea here not with a view to dismissing these movements as being 'just-as-oppressive' as governmental relations, but to understand how conduct and counter-conduct emerge and work in a range of relations, including settings without 'straightforward dualities' (Rossdale & Stierl, 2016, p. 158). Further, understanding this may help conceive of a counter-conduct that can avoid reproducing hegemonic relations.

A key mode of conduct (re)produced within the group related to whose voices were heard amongst the group. Within the action group, one voice in particular—that of the group's chair, an older, straight white male with a tertiary education—was resoundingly dominant. Not only did he chair most of the meetings, his voice was also the most commonly heard throughout the entire duration of discussions. I noted this early on in my field notes after action group meetings:

> *There was lots of ranting again from Robert today. He's pretty relentless, I think he sees the meetings as an opportunity to grandstand. [Field notes, action group meeting, 17 January 2017]*

> *A good chunk of today's meeting was much like any another: Robert ranting… We start the meeting with Corinne recapping the minutes, which takes a while and then usually sets Robert off on a rant. [Field notes, action group meeting, 24 January 2017]*

I noted earlier that I intend to avoid getting caught up in the particularities of the personalities present within the action group—and in particular that of Robert, the group's leader. However, I think that what is occurring here is symptomatic of broader gendered and racialised patterns of representation and voice: that, even despite Robert's seeming instabilities and shortcomings as a leader, his white, male voice was dominant, is significant and reflective of broader power structures in Australian society.

The dominance of this single voice meant that other voices, especially those of women and minorities, were silenced. Through the way in which meetings were chaired, dominant voices were able to drown out minority and female voices, as I noted here in my field notes:

> *Robert was in a combative mood—perhaps more than usual—and kept telling people to be quiet. I noticed that two older women, Catriona and Milly, kept trying to have a say and were cut off by Robert. Corinne tried to offer help at certain points and was also cut off. [Field notes, action group meeting, 21 February 2017]*

This reproduction of dominant structures occurred not merely along gender lines, but also extended into representations of race. Robert at times appeared to claim to speak on behalf of the Aboriginal community, despite being white and having no mandate within the local Aboriginal community. On one occasion, I noted in my field notes:

> *Robert said some very inappropriate stuff that seemed to suggest that Joanne and the Waterloo Aboriginal community weren't doing enough to claim their rights. He said 'if I was an Aboriginal person I'd be out there protesting every day'. [Field notes, action group meeting, 20 June 2017]*

Robert's behaviour here created a new mode of conduct within the action group that replicated dominant modes of conduct that see Aboriginal people and their voices marginalised in Australian society and politics. Despite the dismantling of hierarchical structures often being the objective of activism, many protest movements display signs of hierarchical social organisation, and also exclude minorities while valorising the involvement of privileged actors such as experienced activists and Western intellectuals (Tominaga, 2017). The action group did not *explicitly* attempt to achieve 'horizontality' as a means of producing 'less hierarchical' structures (Tominaga, 2017), however, the members of this diverse group—which included ethnic minorities, refugees, LGBTQI people, people with disabilities, Indigenous Australians—might have expected this to be a space in which their views would be welcomed and heard, given its supposed focus on tenant advocacy. Further, the group's work to bring the redevelopment into view as a class conflict, as discussed in Chapter 8, suggest some desire to dismantle the hierarchical class structures present in Australian society.

The counter-conduct approach encourages us to look for layers of conduct and counter-conduct. Rossdale and Stierl use the notion of conduct and counter-conduct to explore how, in addition to replicating dominant power relations and conduct, the Occupy movement gave rise to counter-conduct *within* to resist the tendency towards hierarchical and exclusionary practice (2016).

In Waterloo, Catriona, a female action group member, engaged in such counter-conduct. My field notes describe one incident in which Catriona pushed back against the dominance of Robert's voice within the group:

> *Catriona took issue with the fact that there are few women leading the process. Catriona said: 'There has been no engagement [with government representatives] apart from through Robert. Gender bias is a problem here, women are*

> *not represented, we have very masculine figures representing us here—as always'. Robert responded: 'I don't care what gender or nationality people are'. He seemed to completely miss Catriona's point. [Field notes, action group meeting, 17 January 2017]*

Catriona's voicing of concerns about voice and the reproduction of patriarchal structures was an indication of counter-conduct arising *within* this space of counter-conduct, an unwillingness to be led *in that way*.

Joanne, the local Aboriginal elder mentioned above, resigned from the group after Robert referred to her as 'a mouse', claiming that she failed to stand up to the state government on behalf of her community [Field notes, action group meeting, 24 October 2017]. Joanne called out Robert's 'racist and sexist' conduct in an email that was shared with the group:

> *Your attacks on other female representatives [in the action group] demonstrate that your racism and sexism is so completely ingrained you see no personal fault in your own words and actions [email, sent to action group members, 24 January 2017].*

Again, I feel that Robert's behaviour here with regards to Joanne is not only symptomatic of individual specific set of beliefs, but is reflective of broader power structures and issues of representation and voice, which sees Aboriginal people—and Aboriginal women in particular—marginalised in Australian society.

The way in which decision-making was undertaken about key issues in the group also pointed towards new forms of conduct being generated within this site of counter-conduct. Significant divisions existed within the group about how to respond to particular issues and what its stance should be on the redevelopment. There was no process in place to work through how to determine the group's stance on these issues—in general, the chair of the group, Robert, determined a stance and the rest of the group was expected to agree with that. Often, claims were made to there being consensus in the group, despite significant disagreement.

In the previous section, I described the group's struggles with a decision about whether to join a tender consortium to bid for a Government contract for the masterplan for the estate. Action group members expressed ambivalence about the opportunity—and even those group members who responded relatively positively to the proposition had some reservations about involvement, while some expressed discomfort or doubts and others were vehemently opposed

to getting involved in the tender for the masterplan. This ambivalence, however, was met with a unilateral decision from Robert, as I describe in my field notes following the debate:

> *Robert then proclaimed that there was solidarity within the group to support Elizabeth. John and Elizabeth both quickly refuted this. There was a clear lack of solidarity or consensus, despite a great deal of support for Elizabeth personally. I think it's really damaging to put things forth as being clear cut and there being consensus when there clearly isn't. Elizabeth tried to acknowledge that lack of consensus, acknowledging that this is a complicated matter with no easy solution. [Field notes, action group meeting, 24 January 2017]*

Democratic modes of decision-making—such as holding a vote to identify a majority view—are technologies of the (neo)liberal state and, as Rossdale and Stierl demonstrate with reference to Occupy, resistance can involve rejection of these dominant modes of decision-making and representation (Rossdale & Stierl, 2016). The action group did not necessarily need to adopt democratic modes of decision-making to guide their representation of tenants. But other forms of decision-making and representation—including the loosely-consensus based mode that the group adopted—are similarly rife with potential pitfalls. Rossdale and Stierl talk about the ways in which the notion of the '99%', which guided consensus-based decision-making in the Occupy movement, served to obscure differences and inequalities that existing within the vast group of people that comprise the 99% (Rossdale & Stierl, 2016, p. 175). For the action group, the lack of process for decision-making tended to mean that the most dominant voices came to occupy a determinative role.

Representation was a problem, then, for the action group on multiple levels. The exclusion of minority voices and the failure to capture a diverse cohort of tenants from the estate meant that the group spoke for only a small number of tenants—and served to reinforce the marginalisation of minorities. Further, the felt need to show 'solidarity' through group consensus, and the lack of mechanisms for soliciting input into decisions meant that the actions of the group, were not representative even of the sentiments of those within the group—let alone those excluded.

9.5 Conclusion

While for most members of the action group the question of whether to resist was a no-brainer, questions of *how* to resist dogged the group's activities from its inception to its demise. The key challenges

stemmed in particular from two factors: first, the ways in which rationalities and technologies of government were embedded in group members' own subjectivities such that imagining how to act otherwise presented a real challenge, and second, an understanding of resistance as existing only in a dichotomous and binary position with power.

An understanding of resistance as being in binary opposition to power meant that action group members felt compelled to 'pick a side' and stick to it. They were concerned that participation in government consultation processes might represent a capitulation, conceding that they felt the redevelopment was inevitable, but also worried that a failure to participate in such processes while protesting might result in their perspectives being kept out of the picture. They were unsure about whether to demand that the redevelopment be halted altogether, or to merely set more 'achievable' goals, such as advocating for the inclusion of community rooms and barbecue areas.

A counter-conduct approach concedes that resistance is always potentially reinforcing governmental conduct at the same time as and as well as undermining and challenging it. There can be no movements 'outside' of the influence of power. This is relevant for understanding the challenges of resistance efforts both in terms of their external relations (such as with the state) and in terms of internal relations. Counter-conduct does not necessarily produce sites in which less-hierarchical, more desirable futures are enacted. Instead, these sites might generate their own forms of conduct (and also counter-conduct) that regulate subjects in new (or, as was the case here, in the same old) ways, limiting their behaviour and creating a field of possibilities for action.

The counter-conduct approach to understanding resistance is helpful for illuminating both what is challenging about practicing resistance but also what is possible. We can understand that subjectivities are—at least in part—products of governmental relations of power, and that engaging in counter-conduct means identifying and then reimagining the ways in which we are conducted to act. We can see that a binary understanding of resistance locks subjects into the need to formulate a clear set of demands and establish a position from which to negotiate with the state.

Chapter 10. Encountering technologies of citizenship

To date, no buildings on the Waterloo estate have been demolished. No residents have been relocated, and no blocks of land have been sold. Despite this, there has been plenty of governmental activity in Waterloo. An enormous part of this activity has comprised technologies of citizenship—an extensive program of capacity building, consultation and community engagement.

Although the focus of governmental activity thus far has been on preparing the community for the masterplanning process, we should not, I argue throughout this chapter, assume that these activities are just *preparation* for governing Waterloo—rather, these activities are *crucial components* of the government of Waterloo.

There has been an increasing emphasis placed on resident participation processes in estate redevelopment programs in Australian cities (Arthurson, 2003). Despite this, resident voices have had little influence in redevelopment projects in the Australian experience (Darcy, 2013; Rogers, 2012b). An explanation for this disjuncture may be aided through troubling the taken-for-granted role that these participation programs play.

Viewed from a Foucauldian perspective, these measures and mechanisms that require individuals to participate in governance might be described as 'technologies of the self', 'technologies of citizenship' (Cruikshank, 1999), or as Dean calls them, 'technologies of agency' (2010, p. 196). Programs of empowerment—or 'technologies of citizenship'—such as capacity building, attempt to operationalise the self-governing capacities of citizens towards achieving governmental objectives (Dean, 2010). Viewing these empowerment programs as technologies of agency or citizenship encourages a focus on the way that government and other welfare agencies such as housing authorities govern *through* the conduct of their clients and tenants (Flint, 2004b), and how participation in programs that supposedly empower or increase the independence of individuals in fact brings participants into another locus of

governmental control.

These technologies emerge particularly in relation to individuals or groups that are targeted for responsibilisation initiatives—the poor, unemployed, socially housed, mentally ill, etcetera (Dean, 2010). In the context of social housing policy, these technologies of citizenship take many forms, including intensive case management of unemployed welfare recipients (Schram, Soss, Houser, & Fording, 2010), 'good neighbour' charters (Flint, 2002), reward schemes for tenant behaviour (Flint, 2004b), reference checks to secure social housing tenancies (Marston, 2000), complex criteria that must be met to enter tenancies in mixed income developments (Fraser et al., 2012) and the involvement of tenants in management of housing (Bradley, 2011; Flint, 2004a; McKee, 2007). Through highlighting the ways in which the involvement of tenants in management serves similar purpose to the other mechanisms mentioned above, approaching these programs as 'technologies of citizenship' sees them emerge not as unquestionably 'good' (nor as necessarily bad) for tenants, but rather as technologies for conducting tenants towards the realisation of governmental objectives.

Research in housing policy has highlighted the ways in which these participatory programs may have regulatory as well as liberatory effects (McKee & Cooper, 2008) and the ways in which such programs do not in fact *reduce* the amount of governance to which tenants are subjected but merely direct it to different means—that is, towards the management of the conduct of tenants, rather than the management of property (Flint, 2004b). Governmentality approaches view empowerment not as being liberation from power relations (which are inescapable, from the Foucauldian viewpoint) but as a mode of subjection and means of regulating conduct (McKee & Cooper, 2008). Flint notes that, due to the deployment of these various technologies, social housing tenancies have become 'continuous and dynamic' projects, requiring tenants to continually work to 'regulate themselves' (Flint, 2004b, p. 897).

Questions of how to resist given the presence of this extensive program of consultation and capacity building were particularly challenging for the residents and the action group. The action group felt sure that the program presented potential pitfalls and challenges, but found it hard to know exactly how to engage in resistance against it—especially given the program was posited by government as an 'opportunity' for residents.

In this chapter, I want to explore the consultation and capacity building programs from a governmentality perspective, and address the ways in which the capacity building and consultation processes complicated and thwarted efforts at resistance.

While housing scholars—including, in particular, those deploying governmentality approaches—have turned some attention towards the use of these technologies of citizenship in housing management and governance, few have undertaken work exploring these ideas in the context of public housing redevelopment, or in exploring tenant resistance to these technologies. Darcy and Rogers (2014), with their exploration of tenant rights and participation in a public housing redevelopment in south-western Sydney, are a notable exception.

10.1 Resident participation at Waterloo

Consultation and capacity building programs were a central component of the NSW Government's redevelopment project at Waterloo from the outset. The letter sent to tenants announcing the redevelopment mentioned that there would be a program of consultation and engagement to involve residents in planning the redevelopment, and that the Government would 'support tenants to engage' in the consultation program (NSW Department of Family and Community Services, 2015).

As mentioned previously, there were two major components of the capacity building and consultation program. The first was delivered through two staff members employed at local community development organisations—Counterpoint Community Services and Inner Sydney Voice—and primarily involved a series of workshops and forums designed to build residents' capacity to engage with the Government around the redevelopment; the second was a community consultation program ostensibly to provide opportunities for resident input into the masterplan.

The capacity building workshops were presented by a mix of government representatives, relevant industry experts (e.g. community housing providers and tenant union representatives), academics, and local community service providers. The workshops were variously focused on social mix policies (social mix was a particular focus, with two workshops specifically held on the issue), 'planning for non-planners', 'density and how to do it well', universal design principles, and community housing—some of the flyers are shown in Figure 16. I attended five of these workshops, including those on social mix, planning for non-planners, and understanding community housing. Inner Sydney Voice also provided debriefing documents that summarised the discussions from the workshops, giving me further insight into those which I could not attend.

Figure 16: Flyers for the capacity building workshops.
Source: Inner Sydney Voice.

The Community Development Officer, hosted at Counterpoint, also coordinated the Waterloo Redevelopment Group, a monthly meeting of residents, community workers and government representatives to discuss the consultation around the redevelopment. I observed these meetings from their commencement in November 2016 through to the cessation of my fieldwork in December 2017.

Throughout 2017, these workshops and meetings were scheduled with startling frequency. Many of the residents active in tenant representation, activism and the redevelopment consultation were attending multiple meetings a week—sometimes even multiple meetings in a day. This appeared to be contributing to fatigue and frustration among residents, as I noted in my field notes:

> *Everyone seemed a bit weary this afternoon—many of the participants had been at the three hour long workshop this morning. [Field notes, Waterloo Redevelopment Group, 17 May 2017].*

> *Elizabeth noted that there is already some 'general fatigue. We need some give and take, give something back. People are already tired, and the intensive visioning hasn't even started yet.' [Field notes, Waterloo Redevelopment Group, 16 August 2017].*

The capacity building program was, despite its onerous schedule, only the initial stage of consultation.

The second key aspect of resident participation in Waterloo was the

community consultation program. In late 2017, the NSW Land and Housing Corporation contracted a community engagement consultant, KJA, to run the consultation and engagement sessions as part of the 'visioning' process to provide a mechanism for capturing tenant views as part of the masterplanning process. This comprised an extensive series of dozens of workshops in late 2017 to consult residents. The consultants then prepared a report, *Let's Talk Waterloo* (KJA, 2018), which outlined their findings about residents' vision for the estate. Following this, consultants contracted to deliver the masterplan prepared three 'options' for the estate, shown in the images below.

A further series of workshops was then held, to solicit residents' views on the options. The final stage of this program involved the publication of the masterplan. Residents would not, they were informed, have opportunity to provide further input on the final masterplan before it would be submitted for planning approval.

10.2 Capacity building and resistance

Governmentality approaches have proven particularly useful in unpacking programs such as 'capacity building'. Capacity building programs, in this governmentality approach, appear as technologies of citizenship which '(re)produce citizens capable of governing themselves' (Cruikshank, 1999, p. 3) and which merely need empowering in order realise this ability. Cruikshank's work using a governmentality approach to understanding the US Government's empowerment programs was critical in advancing a scholarly understanding of such programs as *not necessarily liberatory* but as programs that 'work upon and through the capacities of citizens to act on their own' (Cruikshank, 1999, p. 4).

Using Foucault's notion of governing as the 'conduct of conduct' and following Cruikshank's work on technologies of citizenship, McKee and Cooper (2008) examine the 'capacity building' process—the training of tenant representatives in the Glasgow social housing transfer process—not as being *outside* power relations but as firmly enmeshed within them. They argue the capacity building process is itself a power relation and is used by the housing authority to induct tenants into the 'proper conduct' of a housing professional, 'conditioning tenants to apply their local knowledge within the existing institutional architecture of housing' (McKee & Cooper, 2008, p. 140). Tenant training occupies a 'dual function': in addition to encouraging self-development amongst tenants, the training conditioned tenants to apply their knowledge of housing within the

existing institutional frameworks—the laws, regulations and practices—of housing management (McKee & Cooper, 2008).

Darcy and Rogers report that tenant self-organising on a redeveloping public housing estate in Sydney's south-west was 'threatened and colonised' by the 'neoliberal urban governance regime' (Darcy & Rogers, 2014, p. 237), which involved a participation program that co-opted tenant efforts to have their voices heard. As I discuss in this section, the residents of Waterloo also feared that the capacity building program would colonise their efforts to resist the redevelopment and advocate for their own interests.

The capacity building program in Waterloo was delivered by community organisations—Counterpoint Community Services and Inner Sydney Voice—rather than the NSW Government. The Government provided funds for the employment of the staff with community organisations, who were coordinating the program.

Counterpoint and Inner Sydney Voice advocated for the need for funding and programs to support residents as they were subjected to the redevelopment process. These organisations, being funded largely on a program basis (that is, officers are funded to deliver specific programs to the community, rather than the organisation being funded on an ongoing basis) require dedicated funding to deliver additional services or programs.

This financial situation places these organisations in a bind: in order to assist the community to face the challenges of the redevelopment (a NSW Government-led project) they needed to ask the NSW Government for funding. Funding that comes about in such circumstances—tied to the delivery of a program—tends to be bundled with particular expectations about the delivery of that program. This arrangement[26] allowed these organisations to assist the community to cope with the redevelopment—provided they did so on the Government's terms. Capacity building, rather than advocacy, then, became the primary means through which local support was delivered to tenants. The local organisations are able to support the residents in so far as the residents are willing to improve themselves through participating in capacity building programs.

This arrangement does complicate critical understandings of capacity

[26] I was not able to access the documents which specified arrangements for the funding of these two positions, and so cannot provide more details on exactly what these terms were. However, staff from these two community development organisations told me that the position descriptions for the funded positions—that is, the expectations for program delivery and performance indicators—were determined by the Land and Housing Corporation. This gave the Land and Housing Corporation a considerable degree of control over the program and its delivery.

building programs. It is not a straightforward matter of the state delivering a program to subjects. However, a governmentality approach reminds us that government is not wholly the domain of the state, and also encourages us to look for ways in which governmental rationalities colonise other social relations.

Whether intentionally or not, these community development organisations are implicated in a governmental regime that implicitly constructs tenants as deficient subjects in need of capacity building so that they might more fully participate in representing their own interests, and which inducts tenants into governmental forms of knowledge.

10.2.1 Capacity building

In a capacity building workshop on 'social mix', I sat next to Emma, one of the tenant representatives from the estate. In a break for tea and coffee, she expressed her frustration with the capacity building program:

> *Emma said to me: 'This is all just about telling us how to think. They assume we can't think for ourselves, that we need to be taught how to do it' [Field notes, capacity building workshop, 17 May 2017]*

Emma's emphasis on the notion of *how* to think is key here. In these workshops, the residents were not necessarily being taught *what* to think. Rather, they were being immersed in the concepts and ways of knowing of particular forms of knowledge—for example, in urban planning knowledge. They were not being taught, for example, the specific building densities or floor space ratios that would be appropriate for the redeveloped site. Rather, they were being taught how to use spatial planning concepts such as building densities and floor space ratios as a way of thinking about the future of Waterloo. Through introducing residents to concepts such as the 'masterplanning process' and the principles of urban design, the program encouraged residents to consider their neighbourhood through the gaze of the urban planner—as a problem of spatial (in)efficiency, that could be solved through the right arrangement of development controls and the orderly facilitation of development. Residents were, throughout the workshop, explicitly encouraged to draw upon this knowledge when participating in the community consultation process.

The capacity building program inducted the participants into a discursive regime that draws upon governmental forms of knowledge. At times, such as in the 'planning for non-planners' workshop that I discussed in an earlier chapter, this was the explicit aim—residents

were to be educated about how to use planning language and concepts when talking about the redevelopment.

At other times, this was more implicit, often shaped through establishing fields of possibilities. The very agenda of the capacity building program served to usher in a particular understanding of possible futures for Waterloo. Workshops on urban design, planning and social mix helped cement the notion that the redevelopment was an inevitability, and that planning and design knowledge were what was required to help understand a future for the neighbourhood. This served, whether intentionally or not, to obscure the possibility that the neighbourhood might remain unchanged or that reinvestment in the place could involve something other than a drastic overhaul of the urban and social environment.

Despite the frequent exhortations made by NSW Government representatives that I witnessed about the ways in which they would deliver 'appropriate' consultation for the residents, the capacity building appeared designed to ensure that consultation would take place on the Government's terms—that is, to participate, residents would need to be educated and prepared to adopt dominant forms of knowledge. Rather than the consultation program being oriented around the residents' ways of knowing, the residents were required to adopt the dominant forms of knowledge used by the Government to understand space and the future of the redevelopment.

Cruikshank argues that neoliberalism draws upon social scientific ways of knowing to construct disadvantaged citizens as exhibiting a powerlessness and inability to represent their own interests (Cruikshank, 1999). The fundamental assumption of the capacity building program at Waterloo was that tenants are in need of improving—empowering—such that they might be able to represent their own interests in the consultation and engagement processes that were to follow. Many of the residents were, however, already demonstrating their capacity and agency through the multitude of resident-led activities and activism taking place on the estate. The coordination of the action group, a number of protest actions, the *Turning Towers* performance (discussed in detail in the following chapter) and the many informal efforts to support one another were weekly and daily demonstrations of resident agency.

Programs such as the capacity building appear less as projects interested in *increasing* the agency of tenants and more as technologies aimed at *redirecting* the agency of tenants, such that their efforts to exercise agency align with governmental objectives.

The capacity building program was a technology that worked towards seeing residents consider themselves to be 'experts' participating in this process. To a certain extent, they are encouraged to put aside

personal preferences and instead adopt the knowledge of urban planning and social sciences to provide informed and technical input into the redevelopment masterplanning process. Their personal attachments and experiences of place become, in these settings, tangential to their new role as responsible expert participants in an urban planning process.

The action group did not quietly accept the capacity building program. They invited a social work academic from the University of Sydney, Professor Jim Ife, to speak with them to provide a critical perspective on capacity building. The tenants hoped to gain some critical perspective about the capacity building program. I noted in my field notes, '[Professor Ife] was talking about the need to be suspicious when the government offers capacity building, noting that we should ask questions about its purpose, what it means' [Field notes, Action group meeting 15 August 2017]. This forum is indicative of some desire to understand—and, potentially, to refuse—the government-funded program.

However, the capacity building program raised many of the same tensions mentioned in the previous chapter. The residents were indeed suspicious of the capacity building program. Yet they participated, often feeling that it was 'important we show up, to show we care what happens to us, and to maybe have some chance of having a say' [Simon, Field notes, action group meeting, 15 August 2017]. They were concerned, it appeared, that if they didn't participate in the capacity building, they would not be able to meaningfully contribute to consultation processes, and would miss an opportunity to have input. Though many of them did not want to be told 'how to think', they feared that if they did not speak the Government's language, their perspectives might not be taken into account. Capacity building, for the residents of Waterloo, was a double-edged sword: the promise of empowerment on one hand, the threat of colonisation on the other.

10.3 Consensus and co-optation

As I outlined in the previous chapter, action group members were concerned about the 'risks' of being involved in official processes of consultation and participation. In this section, I explore those risks—in particular, the risk of co-optation of dissent through consensus building—and how they played out in Waterloo.

Consensus as a guiding principle for community engagement has been problematised by scholars using governmentality approaches as well as by those exploring the notion of the 'post-political city'.

Rosol's (2014) use of a governmentalities lens to understand the post-political city is particularly relevant to my exploration here. Rosol describes how participation processes are deployed as technologies of government to silence dissent through a consensus-based politics that requires citizens to behave as responsible participants in government, rather than as troublesome outsiders (Rosol, 2014).

By making invisible the partisan, class or other differences that divide a group, political schisms can be glossed over, creating the illusion of consensus. Drawing activists in to official engagement processes sees the agency of these activists redirected to means that suit governmental objectives. Looking specifically at public housing redevelopment in Sydney, Darcy and Rogers argue that government-led 'community building' programs are representative of attempts to 'de-emphasise' tenant activism through promoting a consensus-based approach to neoliberal urban governance (Darcy & Rogers, 2014, p. 243). In Bonnyrigg—the public housing redevelopment project in Sydney's south-west which formed the focus of Darcy and Rogers' paper—the tenants' advocacy group was steered away from traditional protest and activism practices such as lobbying and media communications through their being co-opted under the community engagement strategy, which provided a pathway for feedback and communication from the tenants' group to a 'community reference group' (Darcy & Rogers, 2014).

In Waterloo, tenants were described by the NSW Land and Housing Corporation as 'partners' or 'stakeholders' in the process of redeveloping the estate. As mentioned in Chapter 8, the Community Engagement Manager from the Land and Housing Corporation described his organisation as a 'participant' [Field notes, Waterloo Redevelopment Group meeting, 21 June 2017] in the redevelopment consultation process. This framing of the Government as being on equal footing as tenants—as merely participants in a process out of their control—works to depoliticise the Government's stake in the process and to see tenants and Government imagined as participants in a neutral, non-political process. Of course, as the landholder and developer, the Government and its agencies are far more than 'participants' in the project. Framing both residents and the government as 'partners' in the process—and framing this process as a neutral, technical and non-political process—obscures the power relations relevant to Waterloo's redevelopment. Further, framing residents as 'stakeholders' serves to obscure any sense that they might, as local residents, have some elevated place-based rights to input that might trump other stakeholders.

The extraordinary volume of engagement workshops and events did not actually result in tenants feeling as though they were able to provide input on issues that were important to them. In a meeting of the Waterloo Redevelopment Group, several participants noted

concerns with the limited opportunities for input provided in these workshops:

> *Claire [a local resident] noted that she feels that a challenge with the workshops so far has been that people need clarity on when they can provide feedback on particular issues—people have burning issues they're concerned about, but the nature of the engagement process makes them feel that it's never the right opportunity to talk about the issue that most concerns them. [Residents] need more clarity on when they can talk about these things.*
>
> *Thomas [a local community development worker] noted the need [for the Government] to be clear about what the negotiables and non-negotiables are throughout the masterplanning process. People are not yet clear what they will be able to provide input on, and what has already been determined. He said the community engagement framework doesn't provide any detail on this. [Field notes, Waterloo Redevelopment Group, 21 June 2017]*

Critically, these events seemed largely oriented around identifying ways to funnel residents' perspectives and dissent into a narrow range of possible responses. This range of responses was specified in a Land and Housing Corporation document which outlined 'negotiable' and 'non-negotiable' aspects of the redevelopment.[27] This document makes clear that the key parameters for the redevelopment were established before any community engagement began.

10.3.1 Avoiding dissent

Throughout the events of the redevelopment engagement program, dissent was often silenced through the use of procedural mechanisms.

In several of the workshops I attended, including a consultation session inviting resident input into the density and built form of the redeveloped site, a piece of butcher's paper was pinned to one wall of the room. This piece of paper was intended to be a space on which ideas or questions which did not fit the current focus—the focus for the session being determined by KJA, the consultants, in conjunction with the Land and Housing Corporation—would be written down.

[27] This document was referred to as the 'negotiables' list during WRG meetings. It was a handout given at the WRG in August 2017. The document is less a list of 'negotiable' and 'non-negotiable' aspects of the redevelopment than a table providing clarification in response to residents' questions about the redevelopment as tabled in a meeting on 16 August 2017.

In a workshop as part of the 'visioning' stage of the program, focused on future land-use patterns for the redeveloped estate, one resident asked 'what happens if the community doesn't want to sell the land?' [Simon, Field notes, Visioning workshop, 19 September 2017]. Sharon, one of the workshop facilitators, said that was the kind of thing that could be 'parked' on the butcher's paper, and wrote 'residents might not want land sold' on the butcher's paper. There was, I note in my field notes, 'no further discussion about opposition to privatisation', and the discussion returned to the provision of open space in the redeveloped housing estate. Throughout the remainder of the session—and throughout other workshops I observed—whenever residents raised issues that didn't fit neatly with the questions that the Land and Housing Corporation had posed, they were asked to write them on these pieces of butcher's paper. It was never explained when or how these notes would be used or whether they would be incorporated into the masterplanning process in any way. They appeared to be a tool to avoid conflict, to ensure that the group followed the agenda for the session without deviation or distraction, and without giving space for dissent to be voiced.

At times, the tendency to conflict avoidance enraged residents who became frustrated that their voices were not being heard. In one Waterloo Redevelopment Group meeting, some residents took issue with the language used by the Land and Housing Corporation in the strategy for consultation and engagement around the redevelopment project.

> *Emma noted that the strategy implied that the residents would have critical input into the masterplanning process, but most of the key parameters had already been determined. Dare [the group's chair], in an attempt to diffuse any conflict, suggested that the document 'include a glossary so that everyone understands the terms'—as though the problem was that Emma couldn't understand the language. Catriona [another resident] jumped in to push back against this suggestion, arguing that her point was not about developing a common understanding of the terms used, but rather that the language chosen was misleading: 'Words are chosen, and chosen for a reason. They can be used persuasively, and sometimes deceptively'. Donna, a representative from the Land and Housing Corporation said—in a tone that, to me, seemed unmistakably condescending—that she was aware that some residents had a 'hatred for certain words' but cautioned against 'wasting time' focusing on language. This sentiment about time wasted has been expressed often in these meetings to bring the discussion back to the agenda—to steer away from contentious issue. Emma responded to Donna: 'We don't have a hatred of words. We just want to talk about how*

> *they're being used. Words matter!'. The chair then asked that the minutes note that everyone should keep in mind that our 'language choices matter', and to consider the inclusion of a glossary in future documents. [Field notes, Waterloo Redevelopment Group, 19 April 2017].*

Inviting residents—including action group members—to participate in the Waterloo Redevelopment Group, brought them into a discursive space in which consensus was the aim. The group was, according to its Terms of Reference, to 'work collaboratively', and to 'listen to and negotiate different points of view and perspectives, and to make compromises accordingly'. Inviting residents into this space implicated them in a process in which activism and conflict were deemed inappropriate, and in which procedural tools could be used to divert contention and silence dissent.

In the name of consensus and conflict avoidance, opposition and dissent was quashed or diverted, often using these procedural tools, such as minuting points raised, or suggesting the inclusion of contentious words in a glossary as described above. Substantive issues were rarely discussed, as they were often deemed 'outside the scope' of the meeting or not within the group's terms of reference. 'Consensus', then, emerges as a technology for managing conflict rather than as an outcome of these processes.

The involvement of tenants in the process to determine the future of Waterloo—indeed, in inviting them to participate in a group whose purpose is to determine the ways in which tenants might have input into this process—firmly imbricates tenants in technologies of citizenship. They are to behave as responsible citizens, to participate in planning the future of their area. In order to have their say—to make, in the words of the Government's engagement strategy, 'their own decisions and choices' (NSW Department of Family and Community Services, 2016, p.1)—they must comply with the terms set out by governmental institutions.

10.4 Activism and government support

A key question for Foucault in his later years was not only *how is resistance possible?* but also: *'what could resistance be if it must be created within an arena defined by what it is seeking to contest?'* (Thompson, 2003, p. 114). Indeed, this speaks to these questions about how residents might resist within a realm characterised by the predominance of a range of governmental technologies that manage space, individuals, housing, and a broad suite of resources required by individuals and community groups.

In Waterloo, the predominance of governmental influence presented real practical challenges for resistance, particularly as the action group sought resources to support their activism. The relationship between action group members and the Government raised questions about how to resist in such circumstances.

While they engaged in protests against the NSW Government's actions, many tenant members of the action group retained a complicated relation to the state. Many of these tenants have far more intimate and frequent interactions with government and its representatives than other citizens might. Through their income and housing support, they regularly engaged with Centrelink (the Federal social security agency) and the NSW Department of Family and Community Services. A large proportion of tenants are frequently in contact with state institutions relating to healthcare, mental health, disability support and other specialised needs, bringing them into regular contact with state agencies. Many of the community organisations at Waterloo are funded by government grants and ongoing funds, and several action group members are actively involved in these organisations and their programs. Police and local government representatives meet with tenant representatives on a regular basis to discuss neighbourhood safety and planning. And further, this is not the first time the Waterloo public housing estate has been the subject of investigation for possible redevelopment, meaning there is a familiarity with those agencies responsible for planning and consultation.

Members of the group were familiar and comfortable, then, with Government funding for community activities. At times, there was within the group some degree of expectation that the Government might provide support for the action group's activities. In my field notes, I described the outrage of Robert, the group's chair, about the Government's failure to provide funds for assisting tenants with legal representation to fight any relocations relating to the redevelopment.

> *Robert said today he is furious that the Government is not providing tenants with legal assistance. I can't help but think there is a contradiction here: Robert says that the Government should provide them legal assistance—but the Government is who they are fighting against! I'm not sure how he imagines this would work. He said a bit later that Waterloo residents wouldn't even accept legal assistance from the NSW government, but he criticises Government for failing to offer it. [Field notes, action group meeting, 11 April 2017]*

This sentiment reflects a key struggle for many action group members. In an environment where few other resources are forthcoming, public funds are often the only way to get critical projects funded, and

tenants are accustomed to turning to community organisations or government agencies for support for programs and services. This has certainly not resulted in tenants silently accepting the decisions of the Government—many of them have engaged in various protests and movements over the years, of which this action group is just one—but it does *complicate* their relationship to the state. The state here becomes both the target of their resistance—their antagonist—while also being the primary source of financial and material resources for many on the estate. While it may appear less antagonistic than a more traditional activist approach, a cooperative relationship with government 'by no means erase[s] tensions' within social movements and between them and other actors (P. Hamel, 2000, p. 165).

A decision around securing a space to serve as the action group's base exemplified this complex relationship. In early 2017, the action group asked the Land and Housing Corporation for exclusive access to a room on the estate from which they could run their alternative masterplanning process. The space was to act as a meeting space, a drop-in and information space for residents, a venue for workshops and forums to seek resident input into the alternative masterplan, as well as a workspace for the development of the alternative masterplan.

To the surprise of several in the group, myself included, the Land and Housing Corporation granted the group the use of an empty shopfront on the estate for six months. The shopfront was located between a community room in which many of the Government's engagement events were held, and the 'Waterloo Connect' offices established by the Land and Housing Corporation as a drop-in centre for residents with questions about the redevelopment.

The group had made a decision not to begin the alternative masterplanning project until they had secured a space. This, however, made them vulnerable to waiting for the Government's 'permission' to commence their action.

The Land and Housing Corporation, whether intentionally or otherwise, was ultimately able to prevent them from undertaking their activities for around six months due to delays on finalising the lease. There were several delays—for starters, the space could not be rented to an un-incorporated group of tenants, requiring the group to find a community organisation that could auspice the lease for them. Further, the lease would be given to the group rent-free, but Land and Housing Corporation needed to negotiate the matter of electricity bills and internet access in the space. These matters took many months to resolve.

Throughout this time, the leaders of the group and the alternative masterplanning project expressed frustration and anger that the governing was 'trying to delay them' [Robert, field notes, action group

meeting, 31 January 2017]. By the time the lease was granted, the group had lost the 'headstart' that they had aimed to get on the official consultation process. When the action group began to commence activities relating to the alternative masterplan, the official consultation process was well underway, and local residents were being called upon to attending a fairly intensive series of consultation workshops and forums. The group's leaders began to back-off from undertaking too many 'alternative' consultation events, noting by mid-2017 that they were observing 'general fatigue amongst the community…people are already tired of it' [Elizabeth, field notes, Waterloo Redevelopment Group, 16 August 2017]. The delays, whether intentionally engineered or otherwise, then, had the effect of dampening the activist project.

Similar challenges arose when the group applied to the local government—the City of Sydney—for funding to run a series of workshops and events. The application for a cultural development grant was apparently initially supported, but later rejected due to some concerns: the local government was apparently reluctant to support the activities of a group that were directly aimed at organising resistance to the activities of the state government, and also that worried it would look as though they were sponsoring the group to 'replicate'—and potentially undermine—state government consultation [Field notes, action group meeting 20 June 2017].[28]

The group was eventually awarded funding from the City of Sydney for an amended set of activities focused around capacity building, rather than around the development of the alternative masterplan [Field notes, action group meeting, 15 August 2017]. This revised set of activities looked to me more like the NSW Government's capacity building program than they did the activities of an activist group aiming to resist the redevelopment. These activities were focused more on educating the community in key urban planning concepts than they were on developing an alternative plan or organising protest actions. The local government funding provided support for activities that largely involved building the capacity of residents to engage with official processes. The possibility of receiving funding encouraged the group to re-orient their activities towards a set of capacity building exercises that were not the group's main focus and which served as a distraction from their key purpose. By conforming to the parameters of grant funding rules—that would not at any rate fund their core activist activities—the group allowed themselves to be conducted to commit to delivering programs that sat outside their core interest.

[28] I could not find official evidence of this decision, however this was how discussions with City of Sydney representatives were reported in an action group meeting.

What these events highlight is the difficult relationship that the group negotiated with the government. The group, with limited resources and influence, was beholden to the government in many ways to provide access to resources. But this placed the group in a difficult position, being the beneficiary of support from the very agencies whose actions they were protesting, and requiring them to meet the requirements and expectations of government agencies in order to be given funding or resources.

Citizens protesting the government will likely often occupy dual roles of activist and beneficiary. The post-political city tends to involve these kinds of attempts by the state to erase visible political differences between the state and activists (P. Hamel, 2000). The state can practice what looks like cooperative politics by giving concessions to community groups. These might appear to be 'pragmatic' moves, but as Hamel notes, such concessions likely come at a price (2000).

Both the local government funding and the terms of the lease for the space required that the recipient be an incorporated association. Incorporated groups are required to develop a constitution, formally identify members and elect officers, keep records and minutes of meetings—to behave, in other words, like a company or formal organisation. These processes make these groups knowable and governable, and gives them a form with which the government can engage and interact. The process of incorporation also requires a particular kind of knowledge—an ability to navigate and perform bureaucratic processes and to establish formal organisational practices. This serves to thwart attempts at dis-organised activism, and encourages formalisation and the development of bureaucracy and hierarchy. Groups that refuse to incorporate and formalise their activities remain ineligible for resources and funding through these government programs.

There are multiple layers of struggle at work here. The action group is struggling against its key antagonist—the NSW Government—to protest the redevelopment. But it is also reliant on the Government for key resources for its struggle. The Government, then, engages in a number of strategies to render the tenants' struggle knowable and manageable, through reorienting the terms of their engagement, encouraging the group to formalise, and through framing the state as cooperators—partners, even—in the residents' cause. The action group, then, becomes engaged in a struggle both against the Government's redevelopment project as well as against these efforts at formalisation, at the same time as it accepts some of the Government's terms in order to be well-resourced for that struggle.

10.5 Conclusion

The purpose of applying a governmentalities approach to the empowerment and participation agenda in the government of social housing is neither to dismiss empowerment as 'bad' nor to put it on a pedestal as the answer to the problems of disadvantaged communities. As Cruikshank notes, the point is to '[hold] the will to empower to the fire not to destroy it or discount it but to bring both its promises and its dangers to light' (Cruikshank, 1999, p. 125).

The governmentality approach helps us look not for the quantitative outcomes of participation programs but look for their effects. In this chapter, I have explored how those practicing resistance were met with a key technology for governing the redevelopment of Waterloo: technologies of citizenship, as deployed through the capacity building and engagement program.

Capacity building is understood here as technologies of agency that seek to increase residents' capacity to take responsibility for their own lives. Rather than working to repress tenant agency, these technologies redirect the agency of citizens away from activist activities and towards those means that support governmental objectives.

Activism was complicated both by its interactions with these technologies, and by the 'support' it received from Government agencies, such as grant funding and a pro bono lease for a space on site from which to coordinate activism.

What this chapter has worked to demonstrate is that government and resistance are not simply binary or antagonistic relations of for and against—and indeed, they do not appear as so on the ground. In Waterloo, tenant activists often called for opportunities for more tenant input—which the Government ostensibly provided, through the capacity building and engagement program. This program, in turn, worked not to silence tenant dissent but to redirect it. Tenant agency is not repressed here, merely redirected. Similarly, through providing the space and funds for tenant action, government facilitated a space for activism to grow. However, retaining control of the space and implementing technologies that render the action group knowable in particular ways—such as through requirements that the group incorporate as an association—changes what is being governed.

These programs and their interaction with resistance are, as stated earlier, neither good nor bad. For many residents of Waterloo they may have provided an opportunity for input into the redevelopment. For many staff of government agencies they may have been a legitimate means of ensuring that tenants were consulted. However,

the Foucauldian approach I have adopted here allows me to delve beyond the ostensible intentions of the subjects involved and understand how these programs arose from and were implicated in the production of particular modes of government—and, particular forms of resistance.

Chapter 11. Rehearsing the revolution

> *Today's performance was clever, funny, and moving. It was animated and energetic—it shone through so starkly that the residents involved are impacted deeply by the redevelopment. Little hints of familiar themes and people and events—Catriona's dog Finnegan was a star, and the barbecue scene featured the infamous home brand sausages that were served at the Minister's barbecue back in early 2016—made the whole thing feel very alive. But it struck me that the whole thing, using the Theatre of the Oppressed model, was oriented around getting the residents themselves to find a solution—it was almost as though* they themselves *were the problem that the production was aiming to solve. [Field notes, Turning Towers Performance, 31 March 2017].*

In 2017, the tenants of Waterloo's public housing were invited to participate in a theatre production. The production was called *Turning Towers*, and was put on in partnership with a local community service organisation and a local theatre group that works with marginalised communities. Two performances were staged, and these followed an eight-week series of workshops in which participants learnt about the production format—Theatre of the Oppressed—and shared stories, wrote a script and rehearsed scenes. The participants were residents of public housing, most of whom lived on the Waterloo estate, however a few participants lived in public housing on other estates nearby.

The Theatre of the Oppressed model was created by Brazilian Augusto Boal not merely as a frame for dramatic performances but to facilitate 'rehearsals for the revolution' (Schutzman, 1990, p. 78). It is intended not just to facilitate storytelling about oppression, but to encourage participants and audiences to think about preparing for resistance and revolution.

Turning Towers was only a brief event among several years of resistance efforts undertaken by the residents of Waterloo. But the performance provided a demonstration of the ways in which some residents understand resistance, and how certain ideas of resistance might be reified through processes and events in which residents are

engaged. In many ways, this performance gives one of the clearest articulations of residents' thinking on this subject that I came across throughout my research.

In this chapter, I consider how subject positions and the notion of an unchangeable 'system' were articulated in ways which may prevent the possibility of resistance. I apply a Foucauldian perspective on power/resistance to bring to light the ways in which the framing of problems and the development of solutions in this Theatre of the Oppressed production might have fallen short of the medium's aims to 'rehearse the revolution'. Instead, I suggest they may have served to reify existing power relations through its portrayal of subject positions as fixed and governmental rationalities as immutable.

11.1 Theatre of the Oppressed

Turning Towers utilised the Theatre of the Oppressed format. Theatre of the Oppressed is a framework for activism in theatre, aiming not just to deliver stories of the oppressed, but to engage actors and the audience in creating solutions and interventions that could alleviate oppression, improve situations, and empower the oppressed. Theatre of the Oppressed is about recognising that all subjects have agency and possess the ability to act other than directed, and is focused on recognising their power to change an oppressive situation. The purpose of Theatre of the Oppressed, according to its creator, Augusto Boal, is to offer 'tools for liberation' (Österlind, 2008, p. 72).

Boal wanted his method to be considered more than just theatre and performance—after all, he called his method 'a rehearsal of revolution'. Boal appeared to see his methods as tools that could be drawn upon by marginalised communities to develop and improve strategies of resistance and to recruit others through involvement in performances. Theatre of the Oppressed is intended to be an opportunity to 'experiment' with problem-solving on individual, group and societal levels (Österlind, 2008, p. 73). There are two parts to a Theatre of the Oppressed play: the initial performance, and the reply, which involves interventions and is interactive. The format involves two 'jokers', who in this case were staff from a local theatre company, who ask the actors to replay the scenes from the first part, but invite input from the audience about how each scene could be changed to alter the outcome. The jokers' task is to 'both support and provoke' (Österlind, 2008, p. 77), encouraging the audience to come up with alternative actions that could be taken by protagonists to improve outcomes from particular confrontations or instances of discrimination. Audience members are invited to share suggestions about how protagonists' actions could be altered and to come on stage to 'substitute' into the role of the protagonist to replay the scene with

their suggested amendments. The purpose here is to bring the audience into the play, transforming them from passive observers to 'spect-actors', encouraging them to actively think and perform, coming up with possible solutions to the problems presented by the play.

Turning Towers made use of Theatre of the Oppressed not simply to present a story of oppression and domination but to work through ways of resolving the difficulties faced by residents, apparently providing them with tools to overthrow their oppression. In this way, *Turning Towers* may have been a useful mechanism in addressing the challenges that residents are facing regarding how to resist.

However, as I argue throughout this chapter, Theatre of the Oppressed relies on a dichotomous understanding of subject positions and the power available to them, presenting a conception of 'the oppressed' as powerless while simultaneously requiring them to be responsible for changing an apparently-intractable status quo. This framing is particularly salient when considered in relation to Waterloo residents' doubts about whether resistance could achieve change.

11.2 The performance

I attended five of the eight workshops which were held to write and rehearse the production, and to immerse participants in the Theatre of the Oppressed model. However, due to some reservations on the part of the theatre company (not the participants) I was unable to secure permission to collect data from my participant observation of the workshops. Thus, the analysis that follows in this section is focused solely on the two public performances, which they gave consent for me to observe and analyse.

The play was in two acts, each with four scenes. In the first scene, residents are invited to a meeting at which the Minister announces the redevelopment plans. The scene mimics an actual community engagement meeting held in Waterloo in early 2016, including the language used at that event. The Minister provides very little information to residents but offers them a barbecue as a distraction. A character called 'Miss Information' appears, and tries to distract residents using buzzwords and jargon. Satirising the real events that took place in Waterloo was well received by the audience, who laughed at the depiction of these events, and especially at the characters of the Minister and 'Miss Information'.

In the second scene, a community developer worker attempts to provide the residents with information, but is unable to answer their questions. Tension mounts as residents circle the community worker,

shouting their questions ever louder.

The third scene saw a resident invited to a meeting with community engagement staff. The staff failed to answer any of the residents' questions, instead providing a voluminous handbook about the redevelopment and requested that the resident familiarise themselves with the government's jargon to 'help our communications'.

The final scene involved residents receiving letters about the suburbs to which they would be 'relocated'. There was a sense of powerlessness in this scene, with residents noting that they 'don't have a choice' about their future.

Each of these scenes broadly mirrored actual events at the estate, and focused on the residents' reaction to these events. The government's own language from actual documents was used to satirise the government's actions, bringing humour into the portrayal.

The second act involved a replay of each of these four scenes, but with the audience interventions. The Jokers invited audience members to suggest ways in which the characters' actions might be changed to improve the outcomes from the situation. Audience members who made suggestions were then invited on stage to replay the scene with the altered actions.

11.3 A revolution within limits

Theatre of the Oppressed focuses not only on telling the stories of the oppressed, but on creating an interactive space in which the audience is brought into the story as problem solvers, suggesting ways that the situation could be changed and improved. In an immediate replay of the initial performance, the jokers pause the action on stage, and prompt the audience to suggest how the actors could alter their behaviour to change the situation.

In *Turning Towers*, these suggested interventions, without exception, relied on the characters representing the residents of Waterloo, but not those representing government employees and others, to change their behaviour. This was specified by the Jokers, who told the audience that they must assume that the antagonists could not change, and that only the characters representing Waterloo residents could act differently—the actions of the government staff, ministers and others were not open for alteration. This is consistent with Boal's original method, in which the behaviour of the protagonists (the oppressed) could be altered but the behaviour of the antagonists (the oppressors) could not (Snyder-Young, 2011). Boal cautioned that it would be 'idealistic' to attempt to change the attitudes and actions of the oppressor, and so therefore, the emphasis is placed on 'changing

ourselves' in order to effect change (O'Sullivan, 2001, p. 89).

In *Turning Towers*, this framing presented a major dilemma for participants and audience: how to effect positive change in a broken system? In one scene, a group of residents tried to get information from a government staff member at a consultation event. The staff member promised that details will be forthcoming once further planning was completed. The Jokers paused the action and asked the audience for input, but noted that the actions of the bureaucrat were not to be altered. This meant that the only ways in which the situation could be transformed would be for the residents' characters to rephrase their questions and push harder for information. In the 'replay', the effect of this was paralysing, with the residents continually changing their behaviour, adopting bureaucratic language, trying to beat the government at their own game, but with the system stacked against them. Thus, while the purpose was to demonstrate that characters' actions could be changed because they had agency to stand and act against a dysfunctional system, the effect was almost the opposite of what was intended, with the characters running up against an immoveable, intractable system no matter how they changed their actions. Österlind notes that 'the thought, or illusion, that our problems are personal is part of the general oppression' (Österlind, 2008, p. 80)—bringing to mind the way in which Foucault argued that governmentalities are pervasive and work through the desires and freedoms of subjects. By reifying this notion that oppression stems solely from—and its solution lies solely in—the personal, *Turning Towers* nullified a resistance that could radically reinvent or reimagine the system. Instead, it (perhaps unintentionally) presented a system as unproblematic and unchangeable, offering up only modifications to tenant behaviour as a means to improve social outcomes.

11.4 Therapy or resistance?

A key criticism that surrounds Theatre of the Oppressed relates to whether it is actually capable of providing, as Boal intended, a 'rehearsal for the revolution', or whether it has become merely a tool for personal development (O'Sullivan, 2001).

Increasingly, in neoliberal governmental rationality, social problems are framed as the result of individual failings and shortcomings (Cruikshank, 1999; Dean, 2010). Following from this, improvement and empowerment programs targeted at individuals are increasingly put forward as the solution to social problems and inequalities (Cruikshank, 1999).

Boal developed his methods while working with 'illiterate farmers' and

'oppressed peasants' in rural Brazil and Peru (Shawyer, 2011, p. 13), attempting to provide them with tools to resist dictatorial military regimes. Reflecting on the use of Theatre of the Oppressed in developed-world contexts, Schutzman argues it is problematic to transpose this 'third world aesthetic of resistance' into a 'first world aesthetic of self-help' (Schutzman, 1990, p. 78). Indeed, attempting to merely transplant the model is likely to be challenging for a number of reasons. However, we should not assume that resistance is only relevant in third world contexts and that it cannot take place in the first world, nor that first world problems are all of a 'self-help' nature.

Turning Towers relied upon reforming the actions of individuals as a path towards improving outcomes for residents around the Waterloo redevelopment. The problems facing the residents of Waterloo are significant, and include displacement, gentrification and the dispersal of their community. The performance, however, framed the challenges facing the residents of Waterloo as the responsibility of individuals, and emphasised working on the individual's capacity to alter these situations. The audience was encouraged to look for ways that the individual could participate more meaningfully—how they could improve their interactions to get a (minutely) better outcome.

This framing aligns with the responsibilisation agenda in social policy across the western world, and in particular in housing. Flint (2004b), McKee (2008a), Bradley (2008) and others have discussed how governments—particularly in the UK, but also elsewhere—have used the notion of the responsible citizen as a technology of the self to guide particular action.

Turning Towers saw the neoliberal figure of the self-responsible individual reinforced through placing the onus for action and change squarely upon the shoulders of the 'oppressed'. The audience was called upon to make changes to the behaviour of the protagonists—the implication being that the tenants of Waterloo were responsible for the 'problem' (the problem being the redevelopment) and, therefore, that the solution lies with amending the tenants' behaviour.

This framing of both problems and solutions as located within the behaviour of tenants obscures possibilities for imagining changes to how Waterloo is governed. Possibilities for change, through this lens, appear limited to modifications to tenant behaviour. The conceptualisation of tenant agency in Turning Towers reinforced—again, perhaps unintentionally—neoliberal rationalities around the self-responsibility of the individual and their need to transform their own behaviour.

11.5 Individuals over institutions

Ettlinger notes that, from a Foucauldian perspective, the targets of resistance should not be individuals and the institutions they represent but rather mentalities, discourses and norms which shape subjectivities and possible actions (Ettlinger, 2011).

Schutzman notes that Theatre of the Oppressed 'works to explore options at the moment of discrimination' rather than looking for broader solutions to entrenched political, social and economic inequalities (1990, p. 81). Indeed, *Turning Towers* focused on addressing individual moments of conflict experienced by residents, rather than addressing the broader, systemic rationalities that allow public housing residents to be turned out of their homes.

When the Jokers invited the audience to provide suggestions about improving outcomes from particular situations, the focus was on relations between two individuals. For example, in the third scene, which involved a farcical meeting between a resident and two community engagement staff, it was the conduct of the two engagement staff that become the focus of the intervention. Audience members were invited to identify how the residents' conduct might be altered to improve the relationship and communication she had with these staff. This focus made it seem as though the target of resistance was these individuals themselves.

Turning Towers reduced the challenges facing Waterloo's public housing residents—which include displacement and the dispersal of their community—to interpersonal conflicts between residents and government officials, rather than looking more broadly at the ways in which such treatment is made possible through governmental rationalities and strategies. This emphasis on interpersonal conflicts 'preserves the impression that it is corrupt or evil individuals who are oppressing protagonists in an otherwise fair and equitable system (O'Sullivan, 2001, p. 92), rather than highlighting the ways in which exploration and inequalities are embodied in the very rationalities underpinning the status quo. This framing allows the government of Waterloo to not just remain intact but to be *strengthened* through minor reforms that ostensibly make oppression easier to bear (O'Sullivan, 2001). It works to limit possibilities for tenants to influence the government of Waterloo, encouraging them to imagine that their capacity to effect change is limited to minor tweaks to—rather than transformations of—the way things are governed.

11.6 The oppressed/oppressor dyad

Central to Boal's method are the binary protagonist/antagonist (oppressed/oppressor) subject roles (S. Hamel, 2013). All characters within Boal's format must fit into these subject positions. These subject positions are also crucial for the interactive stage of the play—the antagonists' behaviour is not up for alteration, only that of the protagonists, and when audience members are invited to step on stage, they must step into the role of the protagonist (the oppressed) and not any other positions.

The dichotomous relation between subjects which are oppressed and those which are oppressors is not merely incidental to Theatre of the Oppressed but is in fact an underlying principle that structures the format. Snyder-Young claims that in Theatre of the Oppressed, the oppression is 'clear cut': 'antagonists have power, protagonists do not' (Snyder-Young, 2011, p. 37). In general, characters must fall into either of these two roles, and there is little opportunity for addressing the ways in which characters might alternate roles or occupy grey spaces in between these binary positions.

The relationship between the characters of the residents and the community development worker is illustrative of the implications of imagining subjects in such binary roles.

In the play's second scene, the community development worker is surrounded by residents who are trying to get information out of her. They ask specific questions about the redevelopment, but she is unable to find the answers in the information provided to her by the government. The residents' questions raise in volume and pitch as they move around the worker, who provides no answers to their questions, and eventually calls for silence.

When this scene was replayed and interventions were invited, the community development worker was pitted as the antagonist, while the residents were the protagonists whose actions were up for alteration. This places these characters—residents and the community development worker—in the dichotomous oppressed/oppressor relation that recurs in Theatre of the Oppressed.

In the case of the community development worker, this binary relation becomes particularly confused. Community development workers are not strictly government, nor are they necessarily community. Increasingly, such organisations and the individuals who work for them have become responsible for delivering government agendas and are accountable to governments for funding. These organisations are increasingly administering programs related to welfare provision

and responsibilisation.

In the case of Waterloo, community development workers are in a tight spot. Though ostensibly independent, most of the local community organisations get their funding from the government. They have also received specific allocations of funding to employ community development staff to assist with consultation and capacity building relating to the redevelopment. However, these organisations see that they have a role in supporting and assisting the community, as they have done so for decades and will continue to do so through aspects of the redevelopment process. In general, they seem to attempt not to take sides. They work to advocate for the community, but perhaps in a limited way.

These community development workers in many ways do some of the work of the state. In capacity building roles, they work to increase the community's knowledge of planning and development concepts—not so that they can successfully oppose the redevelopment but so they can participate fully in official participation processes. Often, the role of these development workers is to implement the work of the state in transforming these residents into responsible, active, participating citizens. Thus, they are in some ways an extension of the state, a branch that is ostensibly 'non-government' but that uses technologies of the self, such as responsibilisation, to do the work of government themselves.

However, they are also an extension of the community. These workers live in and around the Waterloo neighbourhood. They are known to, relied upon and trusted by the Waterloo community. They coordinate and support many of the important community activities that occur, including social and cultural activities, the Neighbourhood Advisory Boards and community development programs. They represent the community's needs to the government, advocating for support and meaningful consultation—at the same time as, to some extent, they represent the state to the community through the delivery of Government-funded programs.

This, then, raises questions for the dichotomous oppressed/oppressor roles. Foucault was interested in how individuals can occupy different subject positions, how these can be fluid and changeable, have different implications depending on the power relations they are engaged in. Further, he was interested in how power—including governmental power—is not merely top-down, is not just wielded by 'the state' but is diffused throughout society, a net-like structure that flows through varied channels, that has different points of application that will look different depending on perspective. In neoliberal contexts, non-state actors such as private companies and non-government organisations have increasingly become responsible for governing.

The community development workers undoubtedly act, at certain points at least, as agents of the state, enacting technologies of power such as the responsibilisation agenda. But placing them in the role of oppressors, without nuance or thought for the complexity of the position they occupy, fails to attend to the complex situations individuals find themselves in, and fails to look at how governmental power is intertwined within other institutions that do not look, from the outside, like the government. It also fails to attend to the fact that such organisations and individuals may have liberatory intentions, or may truly wish to advocate for public housing residents, or the ways in which the individuals who work for these organisations may resist the dominant governmentalities of community development work.

Turning Towers' placement of community development workers in the 'oppressor' subject position meant that the role that such workers might play in *assisting* the community could not be considered. They were portrayed as part of a fixed and immoveable system. There was no room for resistance, no consideration that the community development workers might themselves occupy ambiguous roles or that they might wish to help the community. The dichotomous oppressed/oppressor relationship that is so pivotal to the Theatre of the Oppressed model thwarted any opportunity in *Turning Towers* to explore resistance or ambiguities on the part of non-state actors such as community development workers, or of state actors such as housing professionals.

Placing all subjects in the oppressed/oppressor dyad focuses heavily on the differences between individual subjects rather than looking for the 'complex underlying unity' that exists between these subject roles (O'Sullivan, 2001, p. 90). The unambiguous dyad between the oppressors and the oppressed presented in *Turning Towers* reinforces a perception of power as a thing that may be 'possessed' by some groups but not others, and fails to recognise that those perceived to be 'oppressors' in one situation may be oppressed in another. In Waterloo, a failure to attend to the complex relationships between tenants, community workers and representatives of government agencies means that the difficulties faced by residents as they navigate their relationship with other actors are never fully addressed.

11.7 Conclusion

Since the Government's announcement of the project, the residents of Waterloo that have been engaged in opposition to the redevelopment have struggled repeatedly with the question of whether they could achieve meaningful change through their actions. Many residents believed that meaningful and significant change was possible through resistance, and encouraged others to resist the entire redevelopment

project. Other residents believed that such change was impossible and that they, the oppressed, could have no such influence. Rather, these residents believed, they should act within the structures established by governmental departments and advocate for their needs within these structures.

The latter of these two viewpoints stems from an understanding of the existing system as immutable, as so powerful and omnipresent as to be an unchallengeable reality. This conception comes as a result of governmentalities that encourage subjects to take for granted the logic of neoliberal policies and programs, and to see such arrangements as inevitable. The effect of this is to reify the notions of structure—the powerful and well-established systems and networks of rule that determine the lives of the less powerful who are subjected to it—counterposed with agency, being the ability of individuals to act against the determinations of structure.

The structure/agency dichotomy has been something of an obsession for the social sciences throughout the 20th and 21st centuries—sociological debate has been consistently concerned with whether individual agency or the social structures into which one is born will have a greater impact upon social outcomes. From this perspective, an understanding of resistance becomes focused on whether individuals have the capacity to overcome structure, which is here seen as an underlying social force limiting freedom that must be overcome through the realisation of agency (Rose et al., 2006).

Foucault, however, was not interested in structure/agency debates. For Foucauldian scholars, the sociological obsession with structure versus agency is something of a moot point (Rose et al., 2006). The structure/agency debate relies on the notion of an overly deterministic structure which governs social outcomes for individuals on one hand, and free subjects which are absolutely able to determine their own social outcomes on the other. A Foucauldian understanding of neoliberal governmentality shows us that each individual has agency but that 'freedom' is not the absence of constraint but rather an invented array of technologies of the self (Rose et al., 2006), and likewise 'structure' is not a pre-existing determinant of social outcomes but rather the product of discursive and governmental technologies.

Turning Towers depicted a situation in which residents were powerless to affect change in terms of governmental structures or rationalities—the only aspects of the action which could be changed were the actions of the residents themselves. By limiting resistance in this way, *Turning Towers* depicted 'structure' as an immoveable, unchangeable reality against which individuals must exercise their agency, despite this being unlikely to create change. By precluding the option to reimagine structure, Theatre of the Oppressed limits the

possibilities for change to individual behaviour.

What this reification of structure and agency appears to do is convince residents that there is a 'system' within which resides power, and makes them feel as though they sit outside this: they come to feel that they fall outside a network of power relations to which they are merely subjected. This not only alienates them from access to the techniques of power, but also makes them feel as though the 'system' is out of their reach. This is what then gives rise to the notion that it is futile to resist and that residents would instead be better off engaging with the government through formal consultation processes.

A Foucauldian view emphasises imagining how things could be otherwise as the essential component of resistance (Foucault, 1982)—resistance relies on being able to see that are current circumstances are neither necessary nor fixed, but rather contingent and changeable. This perspective helps us see the ways in which Boal's approach to resistance might be limiting. Referring to the paralysing effects of these interventions in Theatre of the Oppressed, Österlind argues that the concept that 'everything is possible; it only depends on you' is just as misleading as the belief that 'everything depends on the structures; you can't do anything' (2008, p. 80). Both are paralysing, for they either mean that change is wholly contingent on the individual's capacity or that change is impossible no matter the individual capacity. By assuming that change relies entirely on altering one's individual actions, the possibility of radically change to rationalities underpinning governmental action is precluded.

Österlind argues that the merging of the personal and the political in Theatre of the Oppressed is a strength, not a weakness (Österlind, 2008, p. 81). Indeed, assisting the realisation that citizens are not disconnected to politics, power and resistance is a potential strength of this approach. However, framing the political as *only* personal, and the individual as responsible not only for social problems but also for their solutions, echoes the neoliberal playbook that would see us individualise both the causes and solutions for social disadvantage, marginalisation and injustice. Theatre and other creative, participatory methods may well provide tools to help citizens identify strategies of resistance to powerful actors, however these tools must recognise that we cannot place the burden for change upon those most marginalised in our society.

The intention of Theatre of the Oppressed as a community development tool is to clarify options and opportunities for resisting oppression and improving the circumstances of oppressed people. In Waterloo, residents were in need of guidance about how they might engage in successful strategies to oppose the redevelopment of their neighbourhood. *Turning Towers*, though intended as a tool to guide residents, appeared to serve to reify the notion that the system was

unchangeable and the actions put in place by the government were inevitable, unalterable. Residents were looking for tools that would allow them to work through their agency to change the system, but *Turning Towers* suggested that residents should work through their agency to change *themselves*.

Discussion & epilogue

Chapter 12. Discussion

Throughout this thesis, I was guided by a meta-level question, *How might we think about resistance to neoliberalism?*

This question is not so much something I aimed to 'answer' through this thesis, but more of a guiding consideration, a touchstone to which I could return as I meandered through my analysis, occasionally finding myself lost among the wilderness of field notes, the literature and piles of documents. However, the findings described throughout the entirety of this thesis speak to this question about how we might think about resisting the dominant governmental rationality—neoliberalism—that governs life in Waterloo, Australia, and indeed much of the world today.

In order to ground this rather lofty ambition, I addressed a series of more manageable questions:

1. *How is the redevelopment of Waterloo governed?*
2. *How is the government of Waterloo resisted?*
3. *What happens when government and resistance interact in Waterloo?*
4. *What comes to light when we use a governmentality approach and ethnographic data to understand neoliberal power and resistance?*

In this final chapter, I walk first through the key findings and contributions of this thesis. I discuss what these investigations have illuminated about the government and resistance occurring in Waterloo, and about how the two interact, and make some inferences up to a broader level, by considering what these findings mean for resistance to neoliberalism more generally. I also outline the theoretical contributions of this thesis, discussing the ways in which it advances the use of governmentality approaches for the exploration of resistance. Finally, I reflect upon the methodological and ethical lessons and challenges I faced throughout this project.

The findings throughout this thesis reflect the specific and local context of Waterloo, of Sydney, of the state of New South Wales and

of Australia. But governments are proceeding along much the same lines in other contexts, as public housing estates are increasingly subjected to redevelopment programs and become the targets of 'social mix' policies. Though it is important to recognise the limitations of using a local case study, these findings are highly relevant to other contexts. From a governmentality perspective, we cannot hope to understand government and resistance by looking from the highest level, taking only the broadest vantage point. We must examine in detail the local case studies, the specific movements and technologies of power and resistance, the specific forms of knowledge used and resisted, if we are to understand the project of government and resistance more broadly. Though limitations exist, it is only through examining the local that we can hope to understand the bigger picture.

12.1 Key findings and contributions

The redevelopment of public housing has increasingly become the focus of scholarship, as governments around the world implement social mix policies that result in the upheaval of low-income communities. What this thesis contributes to this literature is a careful unpicking of the rationality that underpins these redevelopment projects—as well as that of the resistance that such projects are met with.

12.1.1 Government

Though the physical task of redevelopment has not begun, the government of the redevelopment of Waterloo is an ongoing process, which started well before the demolitions. Throughout this thesis, I sought to unpick the various elements of the government of the redevelopment.

The redevelopment of Waterloo emerges in its relation to the 'global city'. Through its designation as a State Significant Precinct, the Waterloo estate is made to appear as more than a local neighbourhood, and instead becomes visible as a site of significance to the state and city economy. This abstraction of Waterloo is further achieved through the discursive work carried out relating to the redevelopment as achieving 'social mix'.

Through its designation as a State Significant Precinct, Waterloo is abstracted from its role as a home place for its residents, is made to

appear in its relation with the global economy, and is problematised in relation to the distribution of populations across space. These abstractions allow Waterloo's physical form and social mix to be constructed as inadequate and in need of capital injection, and allow the redevelopment to emerge as the rational response.

Knowledge, for Foucault, is a critical aspect of the exercise of power, the practice of government and resistance: 'truth is linked in a circular relation with systems of power that produce and sustain it, and to effects of power which it induces and which extend it' (Foucault, 2002b, p. 132). The forms of knowledge in play in Waterloo also contribute to a way of understanding the estate that sees it emerge largely as a problem both of the arrangement of things in space and of a lack of capital and private market involvement in the space. The role of urban planning knowledge here is to render the problems of Waterloo as technical and spatial problems requiring the expertise of urban planners to resolve them through the rearrangement of various aspects of Waterloo's spatial form. The governmental technology of the 'masterplan' emerges as a way of rendering the space available for redevelopment, and for bringing to visibility certain futures for the Waterloo estate.

Market knowledge, working in concert with this urban planning knowledge, provides a way of understanding the place which sees it understood as lacking in certain things: private development, commercial activity and entrepreneurial activities.

This interest in entrepreneurial activities relates strongly to the ways in which government produces subjectivities in Waterloo. The tenants of Waterloo, many of whom have long been out of the workforce for various reasons, are problematised as lacking the entrepreneurial spirit so crucial for the neoliberal subject. They are categorised as either belonging to the 'safety net group'—a sort of 'deserving poor' categorisation that renders them as lost causes or hopeless cases in the eyes of the Government—or as belonging to the 'opportunity group', and therefore being insufficiently self-responsible and in need of improvement.

The technical aspect of government presents solutions to this need for improvement among citizens. Community emerges as both something that can be built or made through the redevelopment, at the same time as it is invoked as an already existing locus for ethical behaviour amongst tenants. This 'ethopolitical' (Rose, 2007) strategy provides a means for encouraging citizens to develop their own self-responsibility by invoking an apparently pre-existing ethical norm to which members of a community must adhere.

Technologies of citizenship were another key product of governmental

action around Waterloo, and emerged as a primary mode of governance in the redevelopment project. These technologies of citizenship, which in Waterloo included the capacity building program as well as the broader consultation and engagement programs, work to constitute subjects as *participants* in government projects. Government and its representatives worked to make the consultation and engagement process appear as a technical and neutral process within which they were all participants, or 'stakeholders'. Such processes are an articulation of the post-political—a strategy of neoliberal governmentality in which key urban conflicts are made to appear to be technical issues (Rosol, 2014) for resolution by expert input and deliberative processes, rather than political antagonism.

The technologies of citizenship also worked explicitly to imbricate residents in dominant conduct and knowledge, requiring tenants of Waterloo to become conversant in the discourse of planning and to learn to understand the 'problems' of Waterloo from the standpoint of an urban planner. Such technologies encouraged the tenants of Waterloo to adopt a neutral, technical view of their neighbourhood and to understand options for its future in terms of a suite of urban planning tools that might be used to redress its supposed shortcomings.

The post-political was also evident in the Government's support for activism, which included provision of a rent-free lease on a room from which the tenants could organise their campaign, grant funding for tenant activities, and ongoing meetings hosted between Government representatives and tenant organisers. Such support worked to complicate the relationship between tenants and the Government, removing any sense of there being a simple binary or antagonistic relation between the two 'sides'. These strategies of providing support allowed governmental actors to adopt subject positions as neutral, technical experts and facilitators rather than as interested parties in a political conflict. By destabilising the antagonistic relationship, this support served to complicate resistance by implicating tenant activists to some degree in the work of the Government.

The government of the Waterloo redevelopment is, then, a far-reaching and productive activity. It is about much more than the demolition and replacement of buildings. It is not merely a repressive activity—indeed, its primary activity is a productive one. The neoliberal rationality at work within the NSW Government renders Waterloo's problems issues of the arrangement of things in space, of insufficiently entrepreneurial subjects, and of a lack of direct involvement of capital in the space. By (re)producing certain forms of knowledge, subjectivities and visibilities, and by deploying certain technologies of government, the NSW Government makes the

redevelopment of Waterloo appear largely as a technical solution to a technical problem.

The task for those resisting, then, became rendering the post-political city political again.

12.1.2 Resistance

Resistance, as I have shown throughout this thesis, is not merely reactive: like government, it is a productive activity.

Those tenants undertaking resistance to the redevelopment of Waterloo bring the redevelopment into view as a class conflict. This is a key strategy in response to the depoliticisation of the redevelopment. Whereas the NSW Government sought to render the redevelopment a purely technical and expert issue, the tenants engaged in resistance work to reframe social mix as 'social cleansing'—the eviction of the poor, and of Indigenous people, from the inner city.

This relies in part on bringing Waterloo into view not as merely a segment of the 'global arc' but as a home place, a local neighbourhood to which residents had strong personal, social and cultural connections, and as Aboriginal land to which Indigenous Australians have a rich and long historical connection. This rescaling of Waterloo to the local, as opposed to the global, worked to emphasise the connections residents had to place, and the impacts that severing those connections might have upon them.

Bearing witness to the Government's actions at Waterloo became a critical component of the residents' action around the redevelopment. This bearing witness is both a performative practice of unity and humanity and a practice of 'monitory democracy' (Rogers, 2013) in which residents let it be known that they are keeping an eye on the Government. The tent embassy and the WeLiveHere light installation were performative gestures of humanity intended to both build solidarity and demonstrate a commitment to staying in place, while the activities of RedWatch and the role of the Future Planning Centre were to show the Government that the residents would not allow the Government's actions to go unquestioned.

The things that resistance produces are not only connected directly to the physical redevelopment of Waterloo's housing, but are connected to the ways in which public housing tenants are constituted as subjects. Those tenants resisting the redevelopment worked to refute subjectivities that see them framed as irresponsible and dependent citizens. However, this presented a challenge for many tenants. The very act of resistance threatened to see them embody the

'troublemaker' subjectivity that they were so eager to refute. They were caught in a bind: to advocate for their own interests, that is, to behave with what felt to them to be self-responsibility, was to become the very *irresponsible* subjects that mainstream discourse constructs for public housing tenants.

Struggles such as these highlight the challenges of resisting a power that is *productive*. Unlike a repressive power, a productive power is challenging to resist as it does not merely say 'no' but presents a field of possible actions and subject positions, and works to obscure possibilities and subject positions that fall outside that narrow field. Those resisting must make visible alternative possibilities for acting and being in order to realise pathways for resisting neoliberal government.

Similar struggles were present in the action group's ongoing battles around their strategy for action, with the group endlessly wrestling with questions around whether to negotiate with the Government or to protest, and whether to participate in the consultation program or oppose it altogether. By producing the technologies of citizenship of the consultation and capacity building programs, the NSW Government made resistance challenging: ostensibly, this program offered an opportunity to be empowered and heard—which was precisely what residents were calling for in their protest. However, these technologies work to co-opt resident voices and to silence dissent, to produce 'consensus' and to hear tenant perspectives on the Government's terms. The action group was unable to resolve the question of whether it would be better to risk co-option in order to be 'inside the room', or better to maintain independence and remain outside, shouting in.

The action group, in attempts to perform the 'responsible citizen' subjectivity and also to be established as legitimate participants in processes relating to the redevelopment, also engaged in technologies of legitimacy. These technologies of legitimacy similarly placed the residents in a double bind—in which they found themselves required to adhere to procedures and practices that rendered them knowable to government and that would see them conducted in ways that aligned with governmental objectives.

My discussion of government and resistance throughout this thesis has relied on an understanding that neoliberal power is not a simple matter of government on one side and resistance on the other. Rather, the two are mutually constitutive, constantly (re)producing and reifying while at the same time undermining the other. And indeed, even within sites of resistance, there is not necessarily identifiable coherence or unity. Resistance, in Waterloo, is multi-layered,

complex, with overlapping instances of action group members reproducing and resisting dominant modes of conduct. Action group members struggled against one another, as well as against external actors, to have their voice heard and to resist dominant power relations. The notion of counter-conduct was useful for understanding the type of resistance that I witnessed in Waterloo: a resistance that is not *revolutionary* in scope. Counter-conduct, bringing with it a refusal to 'sanctify' resistance (Foucault, 2004b, p. 202) is a helpful frame for unpicking the ways in which resistance (re)produces dominant power relations at the same time as undermining or challenging them.

Turning Towers provided a snapshot of many of the challenges of resistance that occurred while I was observing the Waterloo redevelopment. Though it was merely one event that occurred over several years of governmental action and resistance, I chose to devote an entire chapter to it in this thesis because it provided such a keen sense of many of the key challenges of resisting neoliberal power. It relied, for example, upon a binary conception of power and resistance, which sees the two as neatly juxtaposed on separate sides. This binary conception, when viewed from a Foucauldian perspective, is an abstraction that fails to turn up on the ground, complicating efforts at resisting. *Turning Towers* also relied upon a fixed idea of subject positions between the oppressed and the oppressor, with little room for relative or dynamic subject positions being adopted. Similarly, these subject positions failed to turn up in Waterloo, leaving action group members struggling with the dynamic and multiple subject positions that they and others hold. Finally, *Turning Towers* involved the *individualisation* of problems and solutions. This is a key hallmark of neoliberal rationality, involving the devolution of responsibility for social problems and their solutions to the individual citizen, who is in this rationality expected to be self-responsible and autonomous.

The picture that emerged throughout my research is one that sees resistance constantly struggling against a neoliberal power that appears to be always two steps ahead. I do not mean to suggest that resistance is, then, hopeless, nor that governmental power will always outsmart resistance. As Foucault noted, although the state is not primary, and resistance not merely reactive, we need to note the central position that the state is given in the production of fields of possibilities—power relations are not centralised in the state, but have come more and more under state control (Foucault, 1982, p. 793). Much of what makes neoliberal power appear to be two steps ahead is its ability to control the field of visibilities—to make it seem as though certain things are necessary, rather than fragile contingencies. What I have demonstrated throughout this thesis is that both resistance and

neoliberal governmental power are themselves fragile contingencies that produce the rationalities—the knowledge, possibilities, visibilities, subjectivities and technologies—that sustain them.

12.2 Theoretical contribution

12.2.1 An analytics of resistance

Throughout this thesis, I advanced the fledgling application of an 'analytics of protest' (Death, 2010) to undertake an 'analytics of resistance' around the redevelopment of Waterloo. Using the same theoretical approach to explore resistance as used for exploring governmental practice embraces Foucault's conceptualisation of power as essentially the same type of force as resistance (as argued by Heller (1996)), just deployed towards different means. By turning the same analytical lens on both power and resistance, this approach highlights the ways in which power and resistance are both productive forces, not merely repressive, negative or reactive forces.

The analytics of resistance helps avoid the tendency, present in governmentality studies, to treat resistance as a post-script, rather than the main event. By subjecting it to the same analytical approach as government, I bring resistance to the fore here as an equally important power relation, rather than subjugating it to a position as a dependent, reactive relation. Further, an analytics of resistance highlights the ways in which resistance is *productive*: much like government, resistance produces and reifies forms of knowledge, subjectivities, technologies and fields of visibilities, among other things.

Resistance to the redevelopment was not merely about saying 'no' to the redevelopment, but rather about refuting the subjectivities, forms of knowledge, and visibilities of governmental rationality—and about producing alternatives to these. The redevelopment, though the ultimate focus of the group, was not the *only* focus of resistance, and the resistance came to be as much about language and identities as it was about demolition and (re)construction of the built environment and of the Waterloo community.

I have shown that, although resistance in Waterloo was ostensibly about the redevelopment, it came to be about so many other things. This, I argue, is because the redevelopment of Waterloo cannot be separated from wider structures of governing, from broader governmental rationalities and forms of knowledge, and cannot be thought of separately from the subjectivities that are produced and

reified. Resistance, too, then must focus on these broad governmental contexts, and work to refute, as did the residents of Waterloo, the broad suite of ways in which they are governed. Resisting the redevelopment of their community relies on much more than saying 'no' to the redevelopment—it relies on unpacking and rejecting the governmental rationalities that make the government of Waterloo in those ways possible in the first place.

What is particularly novel in this aspect of my analysis is a focus on the technical aspect of resistance: rarely are the technologies of resistance unpacked in the literature, despite a substantial focus on technologies of government. My focus on the technologies produced and drawn upon by resistance helps highlight the ways in which resistance does not merely say 'no', but produces and wields technologies. I focused on two technologies of resistance: technologies of legitimacy, and of bearing witness. These struck me as critical ways in which resistance was practiced in Waterloo, comprising efforts to be taken seriously and efforts to perform something of a watchdog role, holding government to account.

12.2.2 Counter-conduct

Although I have found counter-conduct a useful concept for understanding resistance to neoliberalism, it has been rarely used in the literature. Yet counter-conduct is useful because it is a means of conceptualising resistance to a specific form of power: one which conducts the conduct of others (Foucault, 2004b, p. 194). Counter-conduct is not about total revolution, but rather is about not being conducted *like that* or *in that way*. Counter-conduct provides a means of understanding struggles against neoliberalism, in that such struggles are not necessarily aiming for total revolution but rather a *rearrangement of things*. My purpose here is not to valorise those forms of resistance that don't aim for total revolution nor to dismiss those which do. Rather, my point is that counter-conduct provides a means of conceptualising resistance that *has the conduct of conduct as its target*. A Marxist conceptualisation of resistance would likely see the efforts of tenants of Waterloo as both inadequate in its aims and unsuccessful in its execution. However, counter-conduct helps us see the ways in which resistance can involve pushing back on particular modes of conduct.

Neoliberal power is not concentrated in the sovereign, and is not repressive. These two characteristics complicate efforts to resist it: how does one resist a power that does not repress but rather is productive? By bringing into view the specific mode of power that is being resisted, a focus emerges around the complexities of resisting a

power that conducts. This played out in this research around the action group's questioning of whether to protest or participate in governmental programs, and around the action group's struggles with establishing objectives for their activism. By paying attention to the specific mode of power in question, we can develop a more nuanced account of the ways in which it is resisted, as well as develop an understanding of the challenges that those practicing resistance face.

In this case, the specific nature of governmental power complicated the setting of objectives and the development of a strategy for activism on the part of the action group. Governmental programs guided tenants to act in particular ways, giving them opportunities to negotiate for certain outcomes or guiding them to understand certain futures to be inevitable (and, by extension, other futures impossible).

The notion of counter-conduct *complicates* resistance, through highlighting the ways in which resistance is comprised of intersecting and overlapping layers of conduct and counter-conduct. In this thesis, I identified the ways in which spaces of resistance replicated dominant power relations, elevating the voices of certain groups while silencing others. Counter-conduct is far from being a straightforward matter of those resisting on one hand and those in power on the other. Despite their efforts to resist dominant power relations, activists are imbricated in—and on occasion reify—these very same relations. However, these instances of replication are met in turn with further instances of counter-conduct, constantly challenging the presence of dominant power relations.

12.2.3 Power and resistance

Several scholars argue that Foucauldian works—and especially those within studies of governmentality—tend to be characterised by a lack of attention to resistance (Clarke, 2004; McKee, 2009a; Death, 2010). Throughout this thesis, I have sought to address this lack by paying close attention to resistance.

Through the ethnographic research I conducted, I was able to come to understand the challenges faced by those attempting to resist the redevelopment of Waterloo. McKee notes that the general focus of governmentality studies upon discourses of rule 'poses problems' for researchers interested in the effects of power at the 'micro level' and the 'lived experience of subjection' (McKee, 2009, p. 474). By using a governmentality approach in conjunction with ethnographic methods, I have worked to shed light on the practice of resistance and the challenges associated with it.

From a Foucauldian standpoint, government and resistance cannot be

boiled down to a simple binary of dominant (or governing) rationalities on one hand and rationalities of resistance on the other. Each influences, modifies and regulates the other, acting on one another so that each is changed, in a constant state of flux as they interact and react.

As I discussed in relation to the notion of counter-conduct, dominant rationalities and power relations filter through into spaces of resistance, replicating and reifying dominant structures.

Through *Turning Towers*, specific futures and a vision of 'the system' as immutable came into view as inevitable. The possibilities for tenant action to transform the system were largely obscured, leaving room only for change to occur within the realm of tenant behaviour. The individualising tendencies of neoliberalism, which problematise individual behaviour as the cause of social problems and make them responsible for redressing these, filtered through into this space of resistance.

Further, notions of a necessary binary between government and resistance, oppressed and oppressor, and structure and agency were present within *Turning Towers*. This, I argue, failed to attend to what I have observed to be far more fluid subjectivities and relations, with subjects wrestling with dominant and subversive subjectivities, and with conduct and counter-conduct.

A Foucauldian view of resistance emphasises its potential for imagining how things could be otherwise (Foucault, 1982). Governmental programs and technologies work to obscure the contingent nature of their own project, making their highly contingent activities seem essential, necessary and inevitable. Resistance, then, relies on being able to see that current circumstances are neither necessary nor fixed, but rather contingent and changeable.

By approaching programs such as the capacity building and the engagement program as technologies of government, the governmentality approach invites an exploration of what these technologies produce and how. Present throughout this thesis was an intention to refute the taken-for-granted concepts, discourse and rationalities that make the redevelopment of Waterloo—and resistance to the redevelopment—possible. Rather than looking only to evaluate the outcomes of such projects using the logic internal to these programs, a governmentality approach elicits an analysis that refuses to take for granted government's assumptions, discursive constructions and objectives.

12.2.4 Governmentality and Foucauldian approaches: critical reflections

As an approach for understanding power and resistance, governmentality offers a unique perspective and encourages a critical and reflexive orientation. As scholars before me have noted—and as is inevitably the case with any theoretical framework—governmentality has a number of shortcomings.

As discussed earlier, a lack of attention to resistance is a key criticism levelled at governmentality approaches. However, I have shown here that governmentality approaches *do* provide a coherent framework for thinking about resistance. I will not deliberate on this extensively here, as I feel at this stage to do so would be to make a straw man of this. By now, I have established that governmentality approaches *can* be used to analyse resistance. I agree with O'Malley et al. (1997) in arguing that this lack of attendance to resistance and contestation is not an *essential* feature of governmentality approaches, but rather reflects a key gap in the literature that sees this aspect of government largely ignored to date. That is, it is a problem of the framework's *application*, rather than one inherent to the approach itself.

A key strength of counter-conduct is that it provides a means of conceptualising resistance that does not involve total revolution. Counter-conduct may indeed feel insufficient as a means of understanding possibilities for resisting neoliberalism. It provides a means of conceptualising everyday resistances and for reminding us that (neo)liberal power is far from totalising. However, this aspect of counter-conduct might be seen as both a strength and a shortcoming. In allowing us to avoid a focus on total revolution, it may leave room for the broader neoliberal art of government to be maintained. That is, emphasising counter-conduct may never address the meta-level, but may instead encourage a focus on pushing back on individual instances of unfair treatment or discrimination, and in this way, risks never providing a means by which neoliberal government might be effectively resisted—or indeed overturned.

However, in order to understand how neoliberalism might be resisted, we need to make way in analysis for conceptualising a variety of strategies and practices of resistance—that is, we need to understand those that focus on resisting conduct as well as those that seek to secure a total revolution. Counter-conduct provides a lens through which we can understand and conceptualise those forms of resistance that have as their aim the specific modes of power that seek to conduct the conduct of citizens.

I noted in the introductory chapters of this thesis that this project is

not a normative one. This should not be a surprising claim: resisting normativity is a general tendency in Foucauldian and governmentality research. But I do note that shunning normative work does have its shortcomings. For example, I imagine that, were the tenants of Waterloo to read this thesis,[29] they might feel frustrated with the lack of guidance it provides. My intention was not to provide an evaluation of the government of or resistance to the redevelopment—and evaluating the governmentality approach in terms of outcomes I never intended to achieve might seem a little misguided. But I do want to acknowledge that there may be little that provides practical help for the residents of Waterloo—and that this is likely to feel frustrating for those who opened up their meetings and homes for my project.

12.3 Reflections on methodology

Debates have flared within the Foucauldian literature on use of ethnographic methods in conjunction with governmentality approaches. In the research discussed in this thesis, I used a combination of ethnographic and textual data.

The focus on document analysis that has been pervasive in governmentality studies is not a problem per se—to date, the field has been largely confined to analysing governmental practices and programs. However, if the field is to be expanded to focus on resistance and critique—which I and others such as O'Malley et al. (1997) strongly feel that it would benefit from—then alternative methods will be required, for such resistance efforts are rarely documented and archived as governmental practices are. If we are to 'conduct an ascending analysis of power, starting from its infinitesimal mechanisms' (Foucault, 1988, p. 99), it is likely that we will need to move away from an exclusive focus on textual evidence—as recent moves in studies of governmentalities have begun to do (Brady & Lippert, 2016).

Ethnographic methods allowed me to see what I could not have seen through a focus only on documentary evidence. As stated earlier, I make no claim to methodological superiority; ethnographic data proved, for me, a sufficient means of getting access to the experiences, perspectives and practices of the tenants. As with any method, there were shortcomings: I was limited in how much I could observe, which

[29] The ethics agreement for this project requires me to make available the thesis for tenants to read. However, whether any of them will choose to read a 300 page doctoral thesis remains to be seen. I will provide a short summary of the thesis for tenants and other participants to read.

interactions I was privy to, how quickly I could jot down the key elements of discussions that occurred. The data is also heavily filtered through my own gaze and reflections, as it relies entirely on field notes written from jottings made after meetings and events. However, what these field notes gave me—though imperfect—was a rich means of understanding the practices and experiences of those resisting.

What this thesis has therefore demonstrated is that ethnographic data provides a means of undertaking a study of government and resistance through providing a means through which to understand the knowledge, subjectivities, visibilities, rationalities, and technologies used both by government and by those resisting—and to identify how these reify, alter and react with one another at the points at which they meet.

Ethnographic methods can often open up fraught ethical territory. While I did not encounter any major ethical challenges throughout my research, I was aware of a number of tensions that were present throughout. My fear that I might perhaps exacerbate tenants' fatigue with constant requests for input was an ongoing anxiety. I remained uncertain about whether to intervene when I witnessed certain (problematic) power relations playing out. I was often unsure how appropriate it was for me to step in when misinformation was being spread or debates unfurling within the group.[30]

Most of these ethical concerns remain unresolved. They did not correspond, as Gillan and Pickerill put it, to a 'box on the form' (2012, p. 134) in my university's ethics process. They were not simple and resolvable matters about informed consent but were dynamic and ongoing issues that related to questions of power relations and the personal relationships that I established with the tenants of Waterloo. Though I was unable to resolve them, the Foucauldian framework provided a constant provocation to remain aware of the power relations in play within the events I was observing—and my own role in these as a researcher and participant. Rather than simply problematising unequal power relations between myself as an educated (and salaried) researcher and the disadvantaged public housing tenants that I was observing, the Foucauldian perspective encouraged me to explore how these played out in practice.

[30] I, along with the two other PhD students mentioned earlier and another researcher interested in Waterloo, explore these issues and themes in a paper in the *Radical Housing Journal* (Chatterjee, Condie, Sisson and Wynne, 2019).

12.4 The contributions of this work

My task here was to 'make power visible and accountable' (Cruikshank, 1999, p. 5), while bringing to light the ways in which that power is resisted.

Throughout this thesis, I shed light on the productive aspects of government and resistance through the application of both an analytics of government and resistance. In doing so, I identified the specific ways in which the redevelopment of public housing is governed—and the ways in which this government is resisted. Though this contribution is based on a specific and local case study, the findings here offer insights into how neoliberal government of public housing—and resistance to this—is made possible, which will have relevance in many other contexts where similar events are unfolding. My elaboration of an analytics of resistance significantly advances a fledgling approach, providing a means to further the nascent interest in resistance within studies of governmentality.

I have used 'counter-conduct' to understand the practice of resisting a power that is not repressive but rather productive, as well as to unpack the layers of power and resistance—or conduct and counter-conduct—that are present. In narrowing in on one domain (technologies of citizenship) in particular, I brought a focus to the ways in which governmental rationality interacts with—at the same time as it produces—tenant agency, and works not to repress resistance but to channel it into 'consensus'. While others have explored this notion of 'technologies of citizenship', few have done as I have with an explicit focus on resistance. Understanding how these technologies of citizenship work to constitute responsible citizens, co-opt resistance and redirect dissent is critical to understanding how the government of public housing redevelopment is made possible.

Finally, I have demonstrated how the individualising tendencies of neoliberal government filter into the rationalities even of those actively resisting, and demonstrated how this works to obscure possibilities for imagining how things might be otherwise.

Throughout this thesis, I have focused on just one local case study. However, what is happening in Waterloo is far from an isolated incident, as I demonstrated in the introductory chapter to this thesis. In Australia, regeneration of estates has become the primary focus for alleviating urban poverty (Pawson & Pinnegar, 2018). In the UK, privatisation, deregulation and regeneration of social housing have seen around 2.5 million homes sold and countless others made more

precarious and less safe since the 1980s (Hodkinson, 2019). In the US, HOPE VI has drastically eroded the public housing stock, and has threatened the right of poor and minority populations to remain in the inner city (Goetz, 2010).

My analysis of the ways in which Waterloo is governed—and the ways in which residents resist its government—may have local specificities, but also translates to other contexts. In this thesis, I have outlined the challenges faced by those attempting to resist the particular flavour of neoliberal government in practice in New South Wales. I suspect that, despite local variations in neoliberal government, many of these challenges are experienced elsewhere.

12.5 Future avenues for enquiry

As I suggested in the opening chapters, my aim with this thesis was not to present a normative argument for how public housing should be governed, nor for how that government should be resisted. However, I recognise that there is a need—given the challenges faced by those resisting that I have outlined in this thesis—for guidance about how to resist neoliberal government of public housing. This question needs further exploration, and constitutes a much needed and potentially fruitful avenue for future research. I would also suggest there is great potential in research to document the experiences of the residents of Waterloo as the redevelopment project is carried out, including their experiences of the redeveloped estate.

The novel perspective offered by an analytics of resistance as advanced throughout this thesis points to opportunities for applying this approach in a variety of context to understand varieties of resistance to neoliberal governmental power and the challenges associated with this resistance. Further, the concept of counter-conduct has been rarely applied in scholarly work and, as I have shown throughout, offers great potential as a conceptual approach for understanding resistance to neoliberal power.

Overall, however, I would that, while scholars should continue to do work to understand neoliberalism and its impacts, we must shift our focus more towards work on *resistance* to neoliberalism: its success and failures, its challenges, its potential, the practice and experience of those resisting, the forms it takes, the hope it offers and the alternatives that it gives shape to. If we focus only on the practices and rationalities of government we risk reifying and concretising the taken-for-granted centrality of neoliberal rationality in our lives and political worlds. The study of resistance must not be relegated only to ‘social movement studies’ (which remains an important but largely

separate field of study) but needs to sit *front and centre* in sociological, political, geographical—and, relevant to this thesis, urban and housing—scholarship. We need to engage actively with those engaged in resistance, to support them as well as to understand them.

Epilogue

In the week that I completed the first full draft of this thesis, the NSW State Government released its Masterplan for Waterloo.

Despite the months of community engagement and consultation, the Masterplan looked much like the residents expected it might when they first heard of the redevelopment. The Masterplan, a snapshot of which is shown in Figure 17, includes 6,800 new dwellings, including replacement of the 2,012 social housing dwellings currently on the estate, as well as the addition of commercial and retail spaces. This is in addition to the three 40-storey towers planned to sit above the new Metro Station.

The Masterplan specifies that around 35% of the redeveloped estate will be comprised of social and affordable housing. The redeveloped estate will have a population density of around three times that of the existing estate. The density of buildings, given the addition of retail and commercial space, will also be higher than at present. In short, the neighbourhood will be drastically transformed, and few of the action's groups hopes or demands have been realised.

The NSW Government provided residents with an indicative staging plan for the redevelopment. Residents in the low-rise walk-ups to the estate's south-west can expect to be relocated (likely on-site, to vacant dwellings within the high rises) with the first six years of the redevelopment. Those in the high rises can expect to remain in their existing dwellings for the next 13-18 years, while new dwellings are built on site for them to move into.

The NSW Government did not provide residents with substantial opportunity for feedback and input on the 'preferred' Masterplan. The Land and Housing Corporation held two drop-in sessions in the weeks following the release of the Masterplan, before submitting the Masterplan to the Department of Planning for consideration. It is expected that the Masterplan will be subject to a statutorily-required exhibition period in 2019 as part of the Department of Planning's assessment process.

The Masterplan has been met with resistance both by residents and others. The City of Sydney Council, raising significant objections to the Masterplan, released an alternative Masterplan in late February 2019.

Figure 17: Site plan from the preferred masterplan. Source: NSW Government.

The City's plan is significantly less dense than the NSW Government's plan in terms of population and built form. Given, however, the timing of the release of the City's plan—immediately before the NSW Government's plan is submitted for planning approval—it seems there is little chance that it will be taken on board. Why the City of Sydney waited until so late in the process to issue an alternative plan remains unclear.

RedWatch has begun campaigning for 5% of the total new build to be specified as affordable housing, and for a further 5% to be affordable housing designated specifically for Aboriginal households (to be managed by an Aboriginal community housing provider) [email correspondence, 18 February 2019].

Resistance to the Masterplan

The action group has been largely silent in response to the Masterplan. At least in part this is due to the group having all but disintegrated in 2018.

The unravelling of the group was messy and complicated, and arose due to the presence of a few particular individuals. I have not addressed this conflict in detail throughout this thesis, because I cannot be sure that the passive consent I received necessarily covered the conflicts that occurred. The action group understood clearly that I was observing their resistance to the redevelopment, but I am not sure how members would react if I were to write about the conflict that led to the group's unravelling in great detail. My concern around this speaks to ethical challenges mentioned earlier which 'do not have a box on the form' (Gillan & Pickerill, 2012, p. 135). That is, although I am confident that my participants were giving informed (though passive) consent to my observation of their activities, I feel that they would be uncomfortable with me writing in detail about the conflict that occurred. Though I have consistently adhered to the expectations set out by my university's ethics guidelines, my more intuitive response tells me that the participants would be surprised and uncomfortable if they were to read about the conflict that unfolded in detail.[31]

In any case, fatigue was already seriously hindering the group's activities—by early 2018 it was coming up on two and a half years since the announcement of the redevelopment, and residents were tiring of the sustained effort required to keep up with—and push back against—

[31] This conflict also occurred after I had finished my sustained period of fieldwork (though I continued to retain some contact with the group and continued attending meetings and events at Waterloo so that I could remain informed, the frequency of my presence at Waterloo was much reduced).

the Government's activities around Waterloo. I observed only a handful of action group meetings after the early months of 2018, and these were increasingly poorly attended, with many involving only Robert and just two or three other residents.

The other researchers and I had, by early 2018, begun winding up our fieldwork. However, we also felt increasingly unwelcome in the group's meetings. After the conflict was largely resolved, we felt welcomed to begin attending meetings again, however we did so infrequently. So little occurred at these meetings and there were so few attendees that they often hardly seemed worth attending.

As I write this early 2019, resistance and action around the redevelopment is largely occurring through the better-resourced local organisations, such as RedWatch and the City of Sydney. Public housing tenants do not have the potential to steer the voice of these organisations in the way they did through the action group. These organisations are campaigning for relatively minor alterations to the plans that might see the density of the final development somewhat reduced and the social services offered through the redevelopment improved.

That the redevelopment will go ahead largely along the lines originally announced by the Government back in December 2015 now feels inevitable.

Useless to revolt?

My overarching question *How might we think about resistance to neoliberalism?* speaks to questions about whether we *should* go about resistance to neoliberalism: is it 'useless to revolt'?

Foucault says that his method is not likely to provide people with advice that tells them 'what is to be done' (Foucault, 1991b, p. 84)—rather, his purpose is to bring them to the point that they 'no longer know what to do' (Foucault, 1991b, p. 84). And, indeed, though I am confident my analysis here has done work to erode some 'self-evidences' (Foucault, 1991b, p. 234) and illuminate the workings of governmental power and resistance, I am not sure that it provides any assistance with the question of 'what should be done'.

My thesis is not normative. This work was never about being able to say 'I found X, therefore we should do Y' or 'my research shows that we will get to B if we first pass through A'. I have, in my life outside this thesis, worked for many years in contract research, a realm in which 'impact and outcomes' are always the driving imperatives towards which we work. There is, to be sure, undoubted merit in such research. But this is not that kind of thesis. Though it is hard to resist the temptation to do the same here, the project I have undertaken

simply does not lead to conclusions that tell us what should be done.

But of course, there is the unavoidable question following any piece of scholarship: 'so what?'.

In my opening chapter, I noted my scepticism about the likelihood of resistance succeeding in Waterloo. At the time, I was unsure that resistance to the redevelopment could achieve anything at all. Undertaking this research has indelibly deepened my understanding of resistance: I certainly don't think, as I realise I tended to at the beginning of this research, that resistance might be futile.

The practice of resistance for the tenants of Waterloo is not only about resisting the redevelopment—as I have shown, it entails refuting dominant forms of knowledge, subjectivities and technologies as well as imagining and producing alternatives. We should not only judge resistance, then, by its ability to achieve its highest-order goals—for this is far from the only work performed by resistance. This is not to say that we should valorise resistance nor make too much of it despite its failures. Rather, we should look for the multiple, layered and productive fronts on which resistance works, and seek to understand how this interacts with neoliberal power.

'People do revolt. That is a fact' (Foucault, 2002b, p. 452). We should not be so quick to condemn resistance for its apparent failures, for much of the important work of resistance lies in a refusal to be governed *like that*, the erosion of the taken-for-granted aspects of government, and the illumination of how things might be otherwise.

References

ABC News. (2004). Fifty police injured in Redfern riot. *ABC Online*. 16 February 2004. Retrieved from https://www.abc.net.au/news/2004-02-16/fifty-police-injured-in-redfern-riot/136268. Accessed 6 May 2019.

Allport, C. (1988). The Human Face of Remodelling: Postwar 'Slum' Clearance in Sydney. *Urban Policy and Research, 6*(3), 106-118. doi:10.1080/08111148808551329.

Arifi, B., & Späth, P. (2018). Sleeping on coal: Trajectories of promoting and opposing a lginite-fired power plant in Kosovo. *Energy Research and Social Science, 41*, 118-127.

Anderson, K. (1993). Place narratives and the origins of inner Sydney's Aboriginal settlement, 1972-73. *Journal of Historical Geography*, *19*(3), 314–335. doi:10.1006/jhge.1993.1020.

Armstrong, N. (2005). Resistance through risk: women and cervical cancer screening. *Health, Risk & Society, 7*(2), 161-176. doi:10.1080/13698570500108644.

Arsel, M., Hogenboom, B., & Pellegrini, L. (2016). The extractive imperative and the boom in environmental conflicts at the end of the progressive cycle in Latin America. *Extractive Industries and Society, 3*(4), 877-879. doi:10.1016/j.exis.2016.10.013.

Arthurson, K. (1998). Redevelopment of public housing estates: The Australian experience. *Urban Policy and Research, 16*(1), 35-46. doi:10.1080/08111149808727746.

Arthurson, K. (2001). Achieving Social Justice in Estate Regeneration: The Impact of Physical Image Construction. *Housing Studies, 16*(6), 807-826. doi:10.1080/02673030120090557.

Arthurson, K. (2003). Neighbourhood regeneration: facilitating community involvement. *Urban Policy and Research, 21*(4), 357-371. doi:10.1080/0811114032000147403.

Arthurson, K. (2004). From stigma to demolition: Australian debates about housing and social exclusion. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment, 19*, 255-270. doi:10.1007/s10901-004-0692-1.

Arthurson, K. (2008). Australian Public Housing and the Diverse Histories of Social Mix. *Journal of Urban History, 34*(3), 484-501. doi:10.1177/0096144207311192.

Arthurson, K. (2010). Operationalising Social Mix: Spatial Scale, Lifestyle and Stigma as Mediating Points in Resident Interaction. *Urban Policy and Research, 28*(1), 49-63. doi:10.1080/08111140903552696.

Arthurson, K. (2013). Mixed tenure communities and the effects on neighbourhood reputation and stigma: Residents' experiences from within. *Cities, 35*, 432-438. doi:10.1016/j.cities.2013.03.007.

Arthurson, K. (2015). The role of qualitative research in identifying residents' perspectives about social mix. In *Qualitative Housing Analysis: An International Perspective*, 209-225.

Arthurson, K., Darcy, M., & Rogers, D. (2014). Televised territorial stigma: how social housing tenants experience the fictional media representation of estates in Australia. *Environment & Planning A, 46*, 1334-1350.

Arthurson, K., & Jacobs, K. (2003). *Social exclusion and housing*. AHURI Report no 51, December 2003. Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute. ISSN: 1834-7223.

Arthurson, K., & Jacobs, K. (2009). Discourses about Australian Social Housing, Social Exclusion and Employment: Indications of the Post-Welfare State? *Housing, Theory and Society, 26*(3), 179-192. doi:10.1080/14036090801939828.

Arthurson, K., Levin, I., & Ziersch, A. (2015a). Social mix, '[A] very, very good idea in a vacuum but you have to do it properly!' Exploring social mix in a right to the city framework. *International Journal of Housing Policy, 15*(4), 418-435. doi:10.1080/14616718.2015.1093748.

Arthurson, K., Levin, I., & Ziersch, A. (2015b). What is the Meaning of 'Social Mix'? Shifting perspectives in planning and implementing public housing estate redevelopment. *Australian Geographer, 46*(4), 491-505. doi:10.1080/00049182.2015.1075270.

Arthurson, K., Levin, I., & Ziersch, A. (2016). Public housing renewal and social determinants of health. *Journal of Prevention and Intervention in the Community, 44*(4), 233-246. doi:10.1080/10852352.2016.1197715.

Atkinson, R., & Jacobs, K. (2008). *Public Housing in Australia: Stigma, Home and Opportunity* (Paper 01). Retrieved from https://eprints.utas.edu.au/6575/. Accessed on 2 May 2019.

Audit Office of NSW. (2013). *Performance Audit: Making the best use of public housing* Retrieved from https://www.audit.nsw.gov.au/our-work/reports/making-the-best-use-of-public-housing. Accessed on 2 May 2019.

August, M. (2016). "It's all about power and you have none:" The marginalization of tenant resistance to mixed-income social housing redevelopment in Toronto, Canada. *Cities, 57*, 25-32. doi:10.1016/j.cities.2015.12.004.

Augustine, S. M. (2014). Living in a Post-Coding World: Analysis as Assemblage. *Qualitative Inquiry, 20*(6), 747-753. doi:10.1177/1077800414530258.

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2017a). *2016 Census QuickStats: Waterloo NSW*. Retrieved from: http://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/SSC14183?opendocument. Accessed on 2 May 2019.

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2017b). *General Community Profile Waterloo NSW 2016 Census* Retrieved from http://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/SSC14183?opendocument. Accessed on 2 May 2019.

Bauman, Z. (1998). *Work, consumerism and the new poor*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Bevir, M. (2011). Governance and governmentality after neoliberalism. *Policy and Politics, 39*(4), 457-471.

Bigoni, M., & Funnell, W. (2015). Ancestors of governmentality: Accounting and pastoral power in the 15th century. *Critical Perspectives on Accounting, 27*, 160-176. doi:10.1016/j.cpa.2014.05.001.

Blandy, S., & Hunter, C. (2013). The Right to Buy: Examination of an exercise in allocating, shifting and re-branding risks. *Critical Social Policy, 33*, 17-36. doi:10.1177/0261018312457869.

Bolt, G., Phillips, D., & Van Kempen, R. (2010). Housing Policy, (De)segregation and Social Mixing: An International Perspective. *Housing Studies, 25*(2), 129-135. doi:10.1080/02673030903564838.

Boomsma, R., & O'Dwyer, B. (2018). Constituting the governable NGO: The correlation between conduct and counter-conduct in the evolution of funder-NGO accountability relations. *Accounting, Organizations and Society*. doi:10.1016/j.aos.2018.05.012

Box, D. (2015). Welcome to McKell, Sydney's most notorious public housing block. *The Australian,* 31 January 2015. Accessed online at http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/features/welcome-to-mckell-sydneys-most-notorious-public-housing-block/story-e6frg8h6-1227201931333. Accessed on 2 May 2019.

Bradley, Q. (2008). Capturing the Castle: Tenant Governance in Social Housing Companies. *Housing Studies, 23*(6), 879-897. doi:10.1080/02673030802425610.

Bradley, Q. (2011). Trouble at the Top: The Construction of a Tenant Identity in the Governance of Social Housing Organizations. *Housing, Theory and Society, 28*(1), 19-38. doi:10.1080/14036096.2010.496255.

Bradley, Q. (2014). *The tenants' movement: Resident involvement, community action and the contentious politics of housing* Cornwall, UK: Routledge.

Brady, M. (2014a). Ethnographies of neoliberal governmentalities: From the neoliberal apparatus to neoliberalism and governmental assemblages. *Foucault Studies*(18), 11-33.

Brady, M. (2014b). Foucault Studies Special Issue: Ethnographies of Neoliberal Governmentalities. *Foucault Studies, 18*, 5-10.

Brady, M., & Lippert, R. (Ed.) (2016). *Governing practices: Neoliberalism, governmentality, and the ethnographic imaginary*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Brinkmann, S. (2014). Doing Without Data. *Qualitative Inquiry, 20*(6), 720-725. doi:10.1177/1077800414530254.

Bröckling, U., Krasmann, S., & Lemke, T. (2012). *Governmentality: Current issues and future challenges*. London: Routledge.

Bullen, J. (2015). Governing Homelessness: The Discursive and Institutional Construction of Homelessness in Australia. *Housing, Theory and Society, 32*(2), 218-239. doi:10.1080/14036096.2015.1024886.

Bulley, D. (2014). Inside the tent: Community and government in refugee camps. *Security Dialogue, 45*(1), 63-80. doi:10.1177/0967010613514788.

Bulley, D. (2016). Occupy differently: Space, community and urban counter-conduct. *Global Society, 30*(2), 238-257. doi:10.1080/13600826.2015.1133567.

Burchell, G. (1993). Liberal government and techniques of the self. *Economy and Society, 22*(3), 267-282. doi:10.1080/03085149300000018.

Burgmann, V., & Burgmann, M. (1999). 'A rare shift in public thinking': Jack Mundey and the New South Wales Builders Labourers' Federation. *Labour History, 77*, 44-63.

Burnswoods, J. (2004a). *Inquiry into issues relating to Redfern/Waterloo: final report* Retrieved from Sydney: https://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/lcdocs/inquiries/2074/WHOLE%20Final%20Report.pdf. Accessed on 2 May 2019.

Burnswoods, J. (2004b). *Inquiry into issues relating to Redfern/Waterloo: interim report*. Retrieved from Sydney: https://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/lcdocs/inquiries/2074/Interim%20Report%20Redfern%20-%20Introduction.pdf. Accessed on 2 May 2019.

Butler, T., Bridge, G., & Lees, L. (2011). *Mixed communities: Gentrification by stealth?*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Carswell, A. (2015). Suicide towers: the dark past of Waterloo's housing commission blocks. *The Daily Telegraph,* 15 June 2015. Accessed online at http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/nsw/suicide-towers-the-dark-past-of-waterloos-housing-commission-blocks/news-story/74f20d4878f0c20b4afbc3674fc. Accessed on 2 May 2019.

Cebeci, M. (2016). De-Europeanisation or Counter-Conduct? Turkey's Democratisation and the EU. *South European Society and Politics, 21*(1), 119-132. doi:10.1080/13608746.2016.1153996.

Chatterjee, P., Condie, J., Sisson, A., Wynne, L (2019). Imploding activism: challenges and possiblities of housing scholar-activism. *Radical Housing Journal*, 1(1), 189-204.

Chatterjee, P., Sisson, A., Condie, J., Wynne, L (2018). We still live here: Public housing tenants fight for their place in the city. *The Conversation*, online November 19 2018. Retrieved from: https://theconversation.com/we-still-live-here-public-housing-tenants-fight-for-their-place-in-the-city-107188. Accessed 6 May 2019.

Chatterton, P., Hodkinson, S., & Pickerill, J. (2010). Beyond scholar activism: Making strategic interventions inside and outside the neoliberal university. *ACME, 9*(2), 245-275.

Christophers, B. (2017). The State and Financialization of Public Land in the United Kingdom. *Antipode*, *49*(1), 62–85. https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12267.

City of Sydney. (2018). *Redevelopment of Waterloo Precinct: Minute by the Lord Mayor*. Retrieved from https://meetings.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/documents/b8948/Item%203.2%20-%20Minute%20by%20the%20Lord%20Mayor%20-%20Redevelopment%20of%20Waterloo%20Monday%2013-Aug-2018%2017.00%20Council.pdf?T=9. Accessed on 2 May 2019.

Clampet-Lundquist, S. (2010). "Everyone had your back": Social ties, perceived safety, and public housing relocation. *City and Community, 9*(1), 87-108. doi:10.1111/j.1540-6040.2009.01304.x.

Clampet-Lundquist, S. (2004). HOPE VI relocation: Moving to new neighborhoods and building new ties. *Housing Policy Debate, 15*(2), 415-447. doi:10.1080/10511482.2004.9521507.

Clark, T. (2013). Paul Keating's Redfern Park speech and its rhetorical legacy. *Overland, 213,* 10-17.

Clarke, J. (2004) 'Subjects of Doubt: In Search of the Unsettled and Unfinished', paper presented at the CASCA Conference, Ontario, 5–9 May.

Clarke, J. (2008). Governing the Local? A Response to Kevin Stenson. *Social Work & Society, 6*(1), 9-11.

Cowan, D., & Marsh, A. (2005). From need to choice, welfarism to social housing allocation. *Legal Studies, 22*, 22-48.

Cruikshank, B. (1999). *The Will to Empower*. New York: Cornell University Press.

Daly, G. (2016). The neo-liberalization of strategic spatial planning and the overproduction of development in Celtic Tiger Ireland. *European Planning Studies, 24*(9), 1643-1661. doi:10.1080/09654313.2016.1190813.

Darcy, M. (2007). Place and Disadvantage: The Need for Reflexive Epistemology in Spatial Social Science. *Urban Policy & Research, 25*(3), 347-361. doi:10.1080/08111140701540703.

Darcy, M. (2010). De-concentration of Disadvantage and Mixed Income Housing: a Critical Discourse Approach. *Housing, Theory and Society, 27*(1), 1-22. doi:10.1080/14036090902767516.

Darcy, M. (2013). From high-rise projects to suburban estates : Public tenants and the globalised discourse of deconcentration. *Cities, 35*, 365-372. doi:10.1016/j.cities.2012.10.010.

Darcy, M., & Rogers, D. (2014). Inhabitance, place-making and the right to the city: public housing redevelopment in Sydney. *International Journal of Housing Policy, 14*(3), 236-256. doi:10.1080/14616718.2014.934157.

Darcy, M., & Rogers, D. (2015). Place, political culture and post-Green Ban resistance: Public housing in Millers. *Cities*. doi:10.1016/j.cities.2015.09.008.

Davidson, A. I. (2011). In praise of counter-conduct. *History of Human Sciences, 24*(4), 25-41. doi:10.1177/0952695111411625.

Dean, M. (2010). *Governmentality: Power and rule in modern society*. London: SAGE Publications.

Dean, M. (2015). Neoliberalism, Governmentality, Ethnography: A Response to Michelle Brady *Foucault Studies, 20*, 356-366. doi:10.1177/1350508414549885.

Death, C. (2006). Resisting (nuclear) power? Environmental regulation in South Africa. *Review of African Political Economy, 33*(109), 407-424. doi:10.1080/03056240601000788.

Death, C. (2010). Counter-conducts: A Foucauldian Analytics of Protest. *Social Movement Studies, 9*(3), 235-251. doi:10.1080/14742837.2010.493655.

Death, C. (2011). Counter-conducts in South Africa: Power, Government and Dissent at the World Summit. *Globalizations, 8*(4), 425-438. doi:10.1080/14747731.2011.585844.

Death, C. (2016). Counter-conducts as a mode of resistance: Ways of "Not being like that" in South Africa. *Global Society, 30*(2), 201-217. doi:10.1080/13600826.2015.1133566.

della Porta, D., & Diani, M. (2006). *Social movements: An introduction* Cornwall: Blackwell Publishing.

Demetriou, O. (2016). Counter-conduct and the everyday: Anthropological engagements with philosophy. *Global Society, 30*(2), 218-237. doi:10.1080/13600826.2015.1133568.

Dodson, J. (2006). The "Roll" of the State: Government, Neoliberalism and Housing Assistance in Four Advanced Economies. *Housing, Theory & Society, 23*(4), 224-243. doi:10.1080/14036090601043540.

Doğruel, F., & Leman, J. (2009). 'Conduct' and 'counter-conduct' on the southern Border of Turkey: Multicultural Antakya. *Middle Eastern Studies, 45*(4), 593-610. doi:10.1080/00263200903009650.

Doney, R. H., McGuirk, P. M., & Mee, K. J. (2013). Social Mix and the Problematisation of Social Housing. *Australian Geographer, 44*(4), 401-418. doi:10.1080/00049182.2013.852500.

Drozynski, C. (2016). Counter-conduct: The architecture of fools in the city of Nowa Huta. *Global Society, 30*(2), 360-386. doi:10.1080/13600826.2016.1144566.

Dufty, R. (2007). Governing Through Locational Choice: the Locational Preferences of Rural Public Housing Tenants in South-Western New South Wales, Australia. *Housing, Theory and Society, 24*(3), 183-206. doi:10.1080/14036090701374563.

Dufty, R. (2011). Governing the Experts: reforming expert governance of rural public housing. *Australian Geographer, 42*(2), 165-181. doi:10.1080/00049182.2011.569984.

Dufty-Jones, R. (2012). Moving Home: Theorizing Housing Within a Politics of Mobility. *Housing, Theory and Society*, *29*(2), 207–222. https://doi.org/10.1080/14036096.2011.641262.

Dufty-Jones, R. (2015). Governmentalities of mobility: The role of housing in the governance of Australian rural mobilities. *Journal of Rural Studies, 42*, 63-78. doi:10.1016/j.jrurstud.2015.09.011.

Dufty-Jones, R. (2017). A historical geography of housing crisis in Australia. *Australian Geographer*, 1-19. doi:10.1080/00049182.2017.1336968.

Dwyer, P. (2007). Still Rehearsing the Revolution?' Theatre of the Oppressed', State Subsidy and Drug War Politics. *Australasian Drama Studies, 50*(April), 138-152.

Eastgate, J. (2014). *Issues for tenants in public housing renewal projects: literature search findings*. Retrieved from Sydney: https://shelternsw.org.au/publications/social-housing/issues-tenants-public-housing-renewal-projects-literature-search. Accessed on 2 May 2019.

Easthope, H. (2004). A place called home. *Housing, Theory and Society*, *21*(3), 128–138. https://doi.org/10.1080/14036090410021360

Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I., & Shaw, L. L. (2011). *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ettlinger, N. (2011). Governmentality as Epistemology. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 101*(3), 537-560. doi:10.1080/00045608.2010.544962.

Ettlinger, N. (2017). A Relational Approach to an Analytics of Resistance: Towards a Humanity of Care for the infirm elderly—A Foucauldian examination of possibilities. *Foucault Studies, 23*, 108-140.

Fennell, C. (2015). *Last project standing: Civics and sympathy in post-welfare Chicago*. Minneapolis University of Minnesota Press.

Fincher, R., Iveson, K., Leitner, H., & Preston, V. (2014). Planning in the multicultural city: Celebrating diversity or reinforcing difference? *Progress in Planning*, *92*, 1–55. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.progress.2013.04.001

Flanagan, K. (2017). 'Problem families' in public housing: discourse, commentary and (dis)order. *Housing Studies, 33*(5), 684-707. doi:10.1080/02673037.2017.1380784.

Flint, J. (2002). Social Housing Agencies and the Governance of Anti-social Behaviour. *Housing Studies, 17*(4), 619-637. doi:10.1080/0267303022014437.

Flint, J. (2003). Housing and ethopolitics: constructing identities of active consumption and responsible community. *Economy and Society, 32*(4), 611-629. doi:10.1080/0308514032000107628.

Flint, J. (2004a). Reconfiguring Agency and Responsibility in the governance of social housing in Scotland. *Urban Studies, 41*(1), 151-172. doi:10.1080/0042098032000155722.

Flint, J. (2004b). The responsible tenant: Housing governance and the politics of behaviour. *Housing Studies, 19*(6), 893-909. doi:10.1080/0267303042000293991.

Flint, J. (2012). The Inspection House and Neglected Dynamics of Governance: The Case of Domestic Visits in Family Intervention Projects. *Housing Studies, 27*(6), 822-838. doi:10.1080/02673037.2012.714465.

Flint, J., & Rowlands, R. (2003). Commodification, normalisation and intervention: Cultural, social and symbolic capital in housing consumption and governance. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment, 18*, 213-232.

Foucault, M. (1982). The Subject and Power. *Critical Inquiry, 8*(4), 777-795.

Foucault, M. (1988). *Power/Knowledge*. USA: Random House.

Foucault, M. (1989). The End of the Monarchy of Sex. In *Foucault Live*. New York: Semiotexte.

Foucault, M. (1991a). Governmentality. In G. Burchell, C. Gordon, & P. Miller (Eds.), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in governmentality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Foucault, M. (1991b). Questions of method. In G. Burchell, C. Gordon, & P. Miller (Eds.), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in governmentality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Foucault, M. (2002a). *The archaeology of knowledge*. Oxon:

Routledge Classics.

Foucault, M. (2002b). *Essential works of Foucault 1954-1984: Power*: Penguin Books.

Foucault, M. (2004a). *The birth of biopolitics*. New York: Picador.

Foucault, M. (2004b). *Security, Territory, Population* New York: Picador Palgrave Macmillan.

Fraser, J. C., Burns, A. B., Bazuin, J. T., & Oakley, D. A. (2012). HOPE VI, Colonization, and the Production of Difference. *Urban Affairs Review, 49*(4), 525-556. doi:10.1177/1078087412465582.

Fullilove, M. T., & Wallace, R. (2011). Serial forced displacement in American Cities, 1916-2010. *Journal of Urban Health, 88*(3), 381-389. doi:10.1007/s11524-011-9585-2

Galster, G. (2007). Should Policy Makers Strive for Neighborhood Social Mix? An Analysis of the Western European Evidence Base. *Housing Studies, 22*(4), 523-545. doi:10.1080/02673030701387630.

Galster, G., & Hedman, L. (2013). Measuring Neighbourhood Effects Non-experimentally: How Much Do Alternative Methods Matter? *Housing Studies, 28*(3), 473-498. doi:10.1080/02673037.2013.759544.

Garbin, D., & Millington, G. (2012). Territorial Stigma and the Politics of Resistance in a Parisian Banlieue: La Courneuve and Beyond. *Urban Studies, 49*(10), 2067-2083. doi:10.1177/0042098011422572.

Ghertner, D. A. (2010). Calculating without numbers: aesthetic governmentality in Delhi's slums. *Economy and Society, 39*(2), 185-217. doi:10.1080/03085141003620147.

Gillan, K., & Pickerill, J. (2012). The Difficult and Hopeful Ethics of Research on, and with, Social Movements. *Social Movement Studies, 11*(2), 133-143. doi:10.1080/14742837.2012.664890.

Ginsburg, N. (2005). The privatization of council housing *Critical Social Policy, 25*(1), 115-135. doi:10.1177/0261018305048970.

Goetz, E. G. (2010). Desegregation in 3D: Displacement, Dispersal and Development in American Public Housing. *Housing Studies, 25*(2), 137-158. doi:10.1080/02673030903561800.

Goetz, E. G. (2013). The audacity of HOPE VI: Discourse and the dismantling of public housing. *Cities, 35*, 342-348. doi:10.1016/j.cities.2012.07.008.

Goodchild, B., & Cole, I. (2001). Social balance and mixed neighbourhoods in Britain since 1979: a review of discourse and practice in social housing. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 19*(1), 103-121. doi:10.1068/d39j.

Gordon, C. (1991). Governmental Rationality: An Introduction. In G. Burchell, C. Gordon, & P. Miller (Eds.), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in governmentality* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gray, N. (Ed.) (2018). *Rent and its discontents*. London, UK: Rowman.

Hacking, I. (1991). How should we do the history of statistics? In G. Burchell, C. Gordon, & P. Miller (Eds.), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in governmentality* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hamel, P. (2000). The fragmentation of social movements and social justice: Beyond the traditional forms of localism. In P. Hamel, H. Lustiger-Thaler, & M. Mayer (Eds.), *Urban movements in a globalising world*. London: Routledge.

Hamel, S. (2013). When theatre of the oppressed becomes theatre of the oppressor. *Research in Drama Education: The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance, 18*(4), 403-416. doi:10.1080/13569783.2013.836918.

Harmon, S. (2017). These are people's homes': the art project making public housing in Sydney's Waterloo glow. The Guardian, 6 September 2017. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2017/sep/06/these-are-peoples-homes-the-sydney-art-project-making-public-housing-glow. Accessed 9 April 2018.

Harvey, D. (1990). Between Space and Time: Reflections on the Geographical Imagination. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 80*(3), 418-434.

Harvey, D. (2008). The Right to the City. *New Left Review, 53*(53), 23-40. doi:10.1080/13604819608713449.

Hastings, A. (2004). Stigma and social housing estates: Beyond pathological explanations. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment, 19*, 233-254. doi:10.1007/s10901-004-0723-y.

Haworth, A., & Manzi, T. (1999). Managing the 'Underclass': Interpreting the Moral Discourse of Housing Management. *Urban Studies, 36*(1), 153-165. doi:10.1080/0042098993790.

Hayward, D. (1996). The Reluctant Landlords? A History of Public Housing in Australia. *Urban Policy and Research*, *14*(1), 5–35. https://doi.org/10.1080/08111149608551610.

Heller, K. J. (1996). Power, Subjectification and Resistance in Foucault. *SubStance, 25*(1), 78-110.

Hodkinson, S. (2011). Housing Regeneration and the Private Finance Initiative in England: Unstitching the Neoliberal Urban Straitjacket. *Antipode, 43*(2), 358-383. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8330.2010.00819.x.

Hodkinson, S. (2012). The new urban enclosures. *City, 16*, 500-518. doi:10.1080/13604813.2012.709403.

Hodkinson, S. (2019). Safe as houses: Private greed, political negligence and housing policy after Grenfell. *Manchester University Press*, Manchester.

Hodkinson, S., & Essen, C. (2015). Grounding accumulation by dispossession in everyday life: The unjust geographies of urban regeneration under the Private Finance Initiative. *International Journal of Law in the Built Environment, 7*(1), 72-91. doi: 10.1108/ IJLBE-01-2014-0007.

Hoff, J. (2019). Redfern Oral History. Website. Retrieved from http://redfernoralhistory.org/Timeline/Timeline/tabid/239/Default.aspx. Accessed on 7 May 2019.

Hoffman, L., DeHart, M., & Collier, S. J. (2006). Notes on the Anthropology of Neoliberalism. *Anthropology News, 47*(6), 9-10. doi:10.1525/an.2006.47.6.9.

Hollow, M. (2010). Governmentality on the Park Hill estate: the rationality of public housing. *Urban History, 37*(1), 117-135. doi:10.1017/S096392681000009X.

Howard, A. L. (2014). *More than shelter: Activism and community in San Francisco public housing* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

IPART. (2017). *Review of rent models for social and affordable housing: Draft report* Retrieved from https://www.ipart.nsw.gov.au/Home/Industries/Special-

Reviews/Reviews/Affordable-Housing/Review-of-Social-and-Affordable-Housing-Rent-Models?qDh=2. Accessed on 2 May 2019.

Iveson, K. (2014). Building a City For "The People": The Politics of Alliance-Building in the Sydney Green Ban Movement. *Antipode, 46*, 992-1013.

Jacobs, K. (2006). Discourse Analysis and its Utility for Urban Policy Research. *Urban Policy and Research, 24*(1), 39-52. doi:10.1080/08111140600590817.

Jacobs, K., Atkinson, R., Spinney, A., Colic-Peisker, V., Berry, M., & Dalton, T. (2010). *What future for public housing? A critical analysis*. AHURI Report no 151. Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute. Retrieved from https://www.ahuri.edu.au/research/final-reports/151 Accessed on 2 May 2019.

Keene, D. E., & Geronimus, A. T. (2011). "Weathering" HOPE VI: The Importance of Evaluating the Population Health Impact of Public Housing Demolition and Displacement. *Journal of Urban Health, 88*(3), 417-435. doi:10.1007/s11524-011-9582-5.

Kendall, G., & Wickham, G. (1999). *Using Foucault's methods*. London: Sage.

Kipfer, S., & Petrunia, J. (2009). "Recolonization" and public housing: A Toronto case study. *Studies in Political Economy*(83), 111-139.

KJA. (2018). *Let's talk Waterloo: Visioning report key findings*. Retrieved from https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5625d102e4b0040b09643cc5/t/5b061b9a88251b0847af1fab/1527127005238/Waterloo+Visioning+Report+240518+-+Background+Context.pdf. Accessed on 2 May 2019.

Korosteleva, E. A. (2016). The European Union, Russia and the Eastern region: The analytics of government for sustainable cohabitation. *Cooperation and Conflict, 51*(3), 365-383. doi:10.1177/0010836716631778.

Kotsila, P., & Saravanan, V. S. (2017). Biopolitics Gone to Shit? State Narratives versus Everyday Realities of Water and Sanitation in the Mekong Delta. *World Development, 93*, 374-388.

doi:10.1016/j.worlddev.2017.01.008.

Larner, W. (2000). Neo-Liberalism: Policy, Ideology, Governmentality. *Studies in Political Economy, 63*, 5-25. doi:10.1016/j.geoforum.2009.03.010.

Lawrence-Zúñiga, D. (2014). Bungalows and Mansions: White Suburbs, Immigrant Aspirations, and Aesthetic Governmentality. *Anthropological Quarterly, 87*(3), 819-854.

Lawrence-Zúñiga, D. (2015). Residential Design Guidelines, Aesthetic Governmentality, and Contested Notions of Southern California Suburban Places. *Economic Anthropology, 2*, 120-144. doi:10.1002/sea2.12021.

Lea, J., & Stenson, K. (2007). Non-State Governance "From Below". *Canadian Journal of Law and Society, 22*(2), 9-27.

Lefebvre, H. (1995). 'The Right to the City', in *Writings on Cities*, selected, translated and introduced by E. Kofman and E. Lebas, pp. 63–181. Oxford: Blackwell.

Lemke, T. (2001). 'The birth of bio-politics': Michel Foucault's lecture at the Collège de France on neo-liberal governmentality. *Economy and Society, 30*(2), 190-207. doi:10.1080/713766674.

Lemke, T. (2002). Foucault, governmentality and critique. *Rethinking Marxism, 14*(3), 49-64. doi:10.1080/089356902101242288.

Lemke, T. (2007). An indigestible meal? Foucault, governmentality and state theory. *Distinktion: Scandinavian Journal of Social Theory, 8*(2), 43-64. doi:10.1080/1600910X.2007.9672946

Levitas, R. (1996). The concept of social exclusion and the new Durkheimian hegemony. *Critical Social Policy, 16*(1), 5-20.

Lewis, C. (2018). *There Goes Our Neighbourhood*. ABC TV. Broadcast 9 November 2018.

Lippert, R., & Stenson, K. (2010). Advancing governmentality studies: Lessons from social constructionism. *Theoretical Criminology, 14*(4), 473-494. doi:10.1177/1362480610369328.

Lucine, B. (2018). *The Eviction*. Independent film, video provided

directly by producer.

Madden, D., & Marcuse, P. (2016). *In defense of housing: the politics of crisis*. London: Verso Books.

Malmvig, H. (2014). Free Us from Power: Governmentality, Counter-conduct, and Simulation in European Democracy and Reform Promotion in the Arab World. *International Political Sociology, 8*, 293-310. doi:10.1111/ips.12055.

Manley, D., van Ham, M., & Doherty, J. (2012). Social mixing as a cure for negative neighbourhood effects: evidence-based policy or urban myth? In G. Bridge, T. Butler, & L. Lees (Eds.), *Mixed Communities: Gentrification by stealth?* . Bristol: The Policy Press.

Manzi, T. (2010). Promoting Responsibility, Shaping Behaviour: Housing Management, Mixed Communities and the Construction of Citizenship. *Housing Studies, 25*(1), 5-19. doi:10.1080/02673030903363462.

Manzo, L. C., Kleit, R. G., & Couch, D. (2008). "Moving Three Times Is Like Having Your House on Fire Once": The Experience of Place and Impending Displacement among Public Housing Residents. *Urban Studies, 45*(9), 1855-1878. doi:10.1177/0042098008093381.

Markusen, A. (1996). Sticky Places in Slippery Space: A Typology of Industrial Districts. *Economic Geography, 72*(3), 293-313. doi:10.2307/144402.

Marquardt, N., Fuller, H., Glasze, G., & Putz, R. (2013). Shaping the Urban Renaissance: New-build Luxury Developments in Berlin. *Urban Studies, 50*(8), 1540-1556. doi:10.1177/0042098012465905.

Marsh, A., & Mullins, D. (1998). The Social Exclusion Perspective and Housing Studies: Origins, Applications and Limitations. *Housing Studies, 13*(6), 749-759. doi:10.1080/02673039883047.

Marston, G. (2000). Metaphor, morality and myth: a critical discourse analysis of public housing policy in Queensland. *Critical Social Policy, 20*(3), 349-373. doi:10.1177/026101830002000305.

Massey, D. (1992). A place called home. *New Formations*, 7, 3-15.

Massey, R. T. (2014). Exploring counter-conduct in upgraded

informal settlements: The case of women residents in Makhaza and New Rest (Cape Town), South Africa. *Habitat International, 44*, 290-296. doi:10.1016/j.habitatint.2014.07.007.

McCormack, J. (2008). Critical pedagogy, experiential learning and active citizenship: a Freirean perspective on tenant involvement in housing stock transfers. *International Journal of Lifelong Education, 27*(1), 3-18. doi:10.1080/02601370701803575.

McDonald, C., & Marston, G. (2005). Workfare as welfare: governing unemployment in the advanced liberal state. *Critical Social Policy, 25*(1990), 374-401.

McKee, K. (2007). Community ownership in Glasgow: The devolution of ownership and control, or a centralizing process? *European Journal of Housing Policy, 7*(3), 319-336. doi:10.1080/14616710701477946.

McKee, K. (2008a). The 'Responsible' Tenant and the Problem of Apathy. *Social Policy and Society, 8*(1), 1-12. doi:10.1017/S1474746408004557

McKee, K. (2008b). Transforming Scotland's Public-sector Housing through Community Ownership: The Reterritorialisation of Housing Governance? *Space and Polity, 12*(2), 183-196. doi:10.1080/13562570802173265

McKee, K. (2009a). Post-Foucauldian governmentality: what does it offer critical social policy analysis? *Critical Social Policy, 29*(3), 465-486. doi:10.1177/0261018309105180.

McKee, K. (2009b). Regulating Scotland's Social Landlords: Localised Resistance to Technologies of Performance Management. *Housing Studies, 24*(2), 155-171. doi:10.1080/02673030802704345.

McKee, K. (2011). Sceptical, Disorderly and Paradoxical Subjects: Problematizing the "Will to Empower" in Social Housing Governance. *Housing, Theory and Society, 28*(1), 1-18. doi:10.1080/14036091003788120.

McKee, K., & Cooper, V. (2008). The Paradox of Tenant Empowerment: Regulatory and Liberatory Possibilities. *Housing, Theory and Society, 25*(2), 132-1146. doi:10.1080/14036090701657363.

McNally, L. (2015, 27 August 2015). Redfern Tent Embassy claims victory with Aboriginal housing deal. *ABC News*. Retrieved from http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-08-27/redfern-tent-embassy-claim-victory-after-aboriginal-housing-deal/6728342. Accessed on 2 May 2019.

Morris, A. (2009). Living on the Margins: Comparing Older Private Renters and Older Public Housing Tenants in Sydney, Australia. *Housing Studies, 24*(5), 693-707. doi:10.1080/02673030903087566.

Morris, A. (2013). Public housing in Australia: A case of advanced urban marginality? *The Economic and Labour Relations Review, 24*(1), 80-96. doi:10.1177/1035304612474215.

Morris, A. (2016). *A contemporary forced urban removal: The displacement of public housing residents from Millers Point, Dawes Point and the Sirius Building by the New South Wales Government*. Retrieved from Sydney: https://shelternsw.org.au/publications/social-housing/contemporary-forced-urban-removal-displacement-public-housing-residents. Accessed on 2 May 2019.

Morris, A. (2017). The Removal of Millers Point Public Housing Tenants in Inner-Sydney by the New South Wales Government: Narratives of Government and Tenants. *Urban Policy and Research, 1146*(October), 1-13. doi:10.1080/08111146.2017.1335194.

Murray Li, T. (2007). *The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development and the Practice of Politics*. Duke University Press, United States.

Murdoch, J. (2000). Space against time: competing rationalities in planning for housing. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 25*(4), 503-519.

Murdoch, J. (2004). Putting discourse sustainability in its place: planning, study and the urban capacity. *Area, 36*(1), 50-58. doi:10.1111/j.0004-0894.2004.00304.x.

Nelson, J. (2014). Place-defending and the denial of racism. *Australian Journal of Social Issues, 49*(1), 67-85. doi:10.1002/j.1839-4655.2014.tb00300.x.

Nethercote, M. (2014). Reconciling Policy Tensions on the Frontlines of Indigenous Housing Provision in Australia: Reflexivity,

Resistance and Hybridity. *Housing Studies, 29*(8), 1045-1072. doi:10.1080/02673037.2014.925098.

Nethercote, M. (2015). Operationalizing a Responsibility Agenda in Australia's Indigenous Communities: Confused, Doubtful and Subversive Public Housing Tenants. *Housing, Theory and Society, 32*(July 2015), 1-25. doi:10.1080/14036096.2014.994073.

Niesche, R. (2013). Foucault, counter-conduct and school leadership as a form of political subjectivity. *Journal of Educational Administration and History, 45*(2), 144-158. doi:10.1080/00220620.2013.768968

Niesche, R. (2015). Governmentality and My School: School Principals in Societies of Control. *Educational Philosophy and Theory, 47*(2), 133-145. doi:10.1080/00131857.2013.793925.

NSW Department of Families and Community Services. (2016). *Waterloo Redevelopment: FACS approach to engagement*. Printed handout.

NSW Department of Families and Community Services. (2017). Expected waiting times: Applying for housing assistance. Retrieved from https://www.facs.nsw.gov.au/housing/help/applying-assistance/expected-waiting-times. Accessed on 30 October 2018.

NSW Department of Family and Community Services. (2014). *Social housing in NSW: A discussion paper for input and comment*. Retrieved from https://www.facs.nsw.gov.au/download?file=303030. Accessed on 2 May 2019.

NSW Department of Family and Community Services. (2015). *Exciting era for Waterloo social housing: Media release.* Retrieved from http://www.facs.nsw.gov.au/about_us/media_releases/exciting-era-for-waterloo-social-housing. Accessed 19 January 2016.

NSW Department of Family and Community Services. (2017). *Communities Plus Frequently Asked Questions: Waterloo*. Retrieved from https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5625d102e4b0040b09643cc5/t/58cb59f9bebafb5a904e6f62/1489721857386/Waterloo+Estate+Fequently+Asked+Questions+February+2017

.pdf. Accessed 30 July 2018.

NSW Department of Human Services. (2010). *General information sheet: Waterloo Green Neighbourhood Project* Retrieved from

NSW Department of Planning and Environment. (2014). *A plan for growing Sydney*. Retrieved from http://www.planning.nsw.gov.au/Plans-for-Your-Area/Sydney/A-Plan-for-Growing-Sydney. Accessed 29 June 2017.

NSW Department of Planning and Environment. (2018). *Study requirements: Nominated State Significant Precinct—Waterloo, revised March 2018*. Retrieved from https://www.planning.nsw.gov.au/-/media/Files/DPE/Other/study-requirements-nominated-state-significant-precinct-waterloo-2018-03.pdf?la=en. Accessed 30 April 2018.

NSW Government. (2014). A plan for growing Sydney. Retrieved from: https://gsc-public-1.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/2014_12_a_plan_for_growing_sydney.pdf. Accessed 6 May 2019.

NSW Government. (2016). *Future Directions for Social Housing in NSW*. Retrieved from: http://www.socialhousing.nsw.gov.au/?a=348442. Accessed 2 May 2019.

NSW Government. (2017). *Communities Plus brochure*. Retrieved from https://static1.squarespace.com/static/ta/5625d102e4b0040b09643cc5/517/assets/docs/171017FACS-CP-Brochure.pdf. Accessed 2 May 2019.

NSW Government. (2018a). *Antisocial behaviour management policy* Retrieved from https://www.facs.nsw.gov.au/housing/policies/antisocial-behaviour-management-policy. Accessed 2 May 2019.

NSW Government. (2018b). *State Environmental Planning Policy (State Significant Precincts) 2005*. Retrieved from https://www.legislation.nsw.gov.au/#/view/EPI/2005/194/whole. Accessed 2 May 2019.

NSW Government. (2018c). *Waterloo Redevelopment Options brochure*. Retrieved from https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5625d102e4b0040b0

9643cc5/t/5bbd96f0e2c483b1072bffb2/1539151628030/Waterloo_Redevelopment_Options_Brochure.pdf. Accessed 2 May 2019.

NSW Government. (2018d). *Waterloo State Significant Precinct Baseline Investigations: Key study summaries*. Retrieved from http://www.redwatch.org.au/RWA/Waterloo/mplan/180821cp/download. Accessed 2 May 2019.

NSW Parliamentary Research Service. (2017). *Privatisation in NSW: A timeline and key sources. Issues backgrounder*. Retrieved from https://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/researchpapers/Documents/Privatisation%20in%20NSW%20-%20a%20timeline%20and%20key%20sources.pdf. Accessed 28 March 2018.

O'Farrell, C. (2005). *Michel Foucault*. London: SAGE.

Odysseos, L. (2016). Human rights, self-formation and resistance in struggles against disposability: Grounding foucault's "theorizing practice" of counter-conduct in Bhopal. *Global Society, 30*(2), 179-200. doi:10.1080/13600826.2016.1141178.

O'Malley, P., Weir, L., & Shearing, C. (1997). Governmentality, criticism, politics. *Economy and Society, 26*(4), 501-517. doi:10.1080/03085149700000026.

Ong A. (2006). *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty*. Duke University Press, Durham, NC.

Österlind, E. (2008). Acting out of habits – can Theatre of the Oppressed promote change? Boal's theatre methods in relation to Bourdieu's concept of habitus. *Research in Drama Education: The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance, 13*(1), 71-82. doi:10.1080/13569780701825328.

O'Sullivan, C. (2001). Searching for the Marxist in Boal. *Research in Drama Education: The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance, 6*(1), 85-97. doi:10.1080/13569780124677.

Pasquino, P. (1991). Criminology: The birth of a special knowledge. In G. Burchell, C. Gordon, & P. Miller (Eds.), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in governmentality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Pawson, H., & Wiesel, I. (2014). Tenant agency in Australia's public housing transfers: a comparative assessment. *International Journal of Housing Policy*, *14*(4), 344–367. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616718.2014.952957

Pawson, H., & Mullins, D. (2010). *After council housing: Britain's new social landlords*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Pawson, H., & Pinnegar, S. (2018). Regenerating Australia's public housing estates. In Ruming, K. (ed) (2018) *Urban regeneration in Australia: Policies, processes and projects of contemporary urban change*. Routledge, Oxon.

Peck, J. (2004). Geography and public policy: constructions of neoliberalism. *Progress in Human Geography, 28*(3), 392-405. doi:10.1191/0309132504ph492pr.

Peck, J., & Tickell, A. (2012). Neoliberalizing Space. *Antipode* (Special issue: Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe), 33-57. doi:10.1002/9781444397499.ch2.

Pfeiffer, D. (2006). Displacement Through Discourse: Implementing and Contesting Public Housing Redevelopment in Cabrini Green. *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development, 35*(1), 39-74.

Pieck, S. K. (2015). "To be led differently": Neoliberalism, road construction, and NGO counter-conducts in Peru. *Geoforum, 64*, 304-313. doi:10.1016/j.geoforum.2013.06.011/.

Porteous, D. & Smith, S. (2001). *Domicide: The global destruction of home*. McGill-Queen's University Press: Montreal.

Popkin, S. J., Cunningham, M. K., & Burt, M. (2005). Public housing transformation and the hard-to-house. *Housing Policy Debate, 16*(1), 1-24. doi:10.1080/10511482.2005.9521531.

Popkin, S. J., Harris, J., & Cunningham, M. (2002). *Families in Transition: A Qualitative Analysis of the MTO Experience, Final Report*. Washington, DC.

Popkin, S. J., Levy, D. K., Harris, L. E., Comey, J., Cunningham, M. K., & Buron, L. F. (2004). The HOPE VI Program: What about the residents? *Housing Policy Debate, 15*, 385-414. doi:10.1080/10511482.2004.9521506.

Procacci, G. (1991). Social economy and the government of poverty In G. Burchell, C. Gordon, & P. Miller (Eds.), *The Foucault*

Effect: Studies in governmentality (pp. 151-168). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Redfern-Waterloo Authority. (2011). *Draft Redfern-Waterloo Built Environment Plan Stage 2*. Retrieved from http://www.redwatch.org.au/RWA/bep2/110331cos. Accessed 2 May 2019.

Right to the City Alliance. (2010). *We call these project home: Solving the Housing Crisis from the Ground Up*. Right to the City Alliance.

Robinson, S. (1994). The Aboriginal Embassy: An account of the protests of 1972. *Aboriginal History, 18*(1), 49-63.

Rogers, D. (2012a). The politics of space and time within market-centric urban policy: the case of the Bonnyrigg living communities project. *Polymath, 2*(3).

Rogers, D. (2012b). Research, Practice, and the Space Between: Care of the Self Within Neoliberalized Institutions. *Cultural Studies - Critical Methodologies, 12*, 242-254.

Rogers, D. (2013). REDWatch: monitory democracy as a radical approach to citizen participation in planning. *Planning Theory & Practice, 14*(4), 529-560.

Rogers, D. (2014). The Sydney metropolitan strategy as a zoning technology: Analyzing the spatial and temporal dimensions of obsolescence. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 32*(1), 108-127. doi:10.1068/d20912.

Rogers, D., & Darcy, M. (2014). Global city aspirations, graduated citizenship and public housing: analysing the consumer citizenships of neoliberalism. *Urban, Planning and Transport Research*, 37-41. doi:10.1080/21650020.2014.906906.

Rogers, D., Sisson, A., Condie, J., Wynne, L., Chatterjee, P. (2017) We Live Here: how do residents feel about public housing redevelopment? *The Conversation*, 6 September 2017. Retrieved from https://theconversation.com/we-live-here-how-do-residents-feel-about-public-housing-redevelopment-83422. Accessed 6 May 2019.

Rose, N. (1999). *Powers of freedom: Reframing political thought* Cambridge Cambridge University Press.

Rose, N. (2000). Community, citizenship and the third way.

American Behavioural Scientist, 43, 1395-1411.

Rose, N. (2007). *The Politics of Life Itself: Biomedicine, Power, and Subjectivity in the Twenty-First Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Rose, N., O'Malley, P., & Valverde, M. (2006). Governmentality. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science, 2*, 83-104. doi:10.1146/annurev.lawsocsci.2.081805.105900.

Rosol, M. (2014). On resistance in the post-political city: conduct and counter-conduct in Vancouver. *Space and Polity, 18*(1), 70-84. doi:10.1080/13562576.2013.879785.

Rossdale, C., & Stierl, M. (2016). Everything is dangerous: Conduct and counter-conduct in the occupy movement. *Global Society, 30*(2), 157-178. doi:10.1080/13600826.2015.1133569.

Routledge, P., & Derickson, K. D. (2015). Situated solidarities and the practice of scholar-activism. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 33*(3), 391-407. doi:10.1177/0263775815594308.

RP Data. (2018). *Suburb Statistics Report Waterloo NSW 2017*. Retrieved from https://www.corelogic.com.au/. Accessed 27 May 2018.

Schram, S. F., Soss, J., Houser, L., & Fording, R. C. (2010). The third level of US welfare reform: governmentality under neoliberal paternalism. *Citizenship Studies, 14*(6), 739-754. doi:10.1080/13621025.2010.522363.

Schutzman, M. (1990). Activism, Therapy, or Nostalgia? Theatre of the Oppressed in NYC. *The Drama Review, 34*(3), 77-83.

Shaw, W. S. (2000). Ways of whiteness: Harlemising Sydney's Aboriginal Redfern. *Australian Geographical Studies*, *38*(3), 291–305. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8470.00117

Shaw, W. (2007) *Cities of Whiteness*. Blackwell: Singapore.

Shawyer, S. (2011). Activist Awareness in the Theatre of the Oppressed Classroom. *Candian Theatre Review, 147*, 12-17. doi:10.3138/ctr.147.12.

Slater, T. (2013a). Expulsions from public housing: The hidden context of concentrated affluence. *Cities, 35*, 384-390.

doi:10.1016/j.cities.2012.10.009.

Slater, T. (2013b). Your Life Chances Affect Where You Live: A Critique of the 'Cottage Industry' of Neighbourhood Effects Research. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 37*(2), 367-387. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2013.01215.x.

Smiles, D. (2018). "... to the Grave "— Autopsy , settler structures, and indigenous counter-conduct. *Geoforum, 91*, 141-150. doi:10.1016/j.geoforum.2018.02.034.

Snyder-Young, D. (2011). Rehearsals for revolution? Theatre of the Oppressed, dominant discourses, and democratic tensions. *Research in Drama Education: The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance, 16*(1), 29-45. doi:10.1080/13569783.2011.541600.

Sokhi-Bulley, B. (2016). Re-reading the riots: Counter-conduct in London 2011. *Global Society, 30*(2), 320-339. doi:10.1080/13600826.2016.1143348.

Somerville, P. (1998). Explanations of social exclusion: where does housing fit in? *Housing Studies, 13*(6), 761-780.

Spark, C. (1999). Home on 'the block': Rethinking aboriginal emplacement. *Journal of Australian Studies, 23*(63), 56-63. doi:10.1080/14443059909387533.

St. Pierre, E. A., & Jackson, A. Y. (2014). Qualitative Data Analysis After Coding. *Qualitative Inquiry, 20*(6), 715-719. doi:10.1177/1077800414532435.

Stenson, K. (2008). Governing the Local: Sovereignty, Social Governance and Community Safety. *Social Work & Society, 6*(1), 2-14.

Stonehouse, D., Threlkeld, G., & Farmer, J. (2015). 'Housing risk' and the neoliberal discourse of responsibilisation in Victoria. *Critical Social Policy, 35*(3), 393-413. doi:10.1177/0261018315588232.

Stubbs, J., & Minto Resident Action Group. (2005). *Leaving Minto: A study of the social and economic impacts of public housing estate redevelopment*. Retrieved from https://apo.org.au/node/107476. Accessed 2 August 2018.

Thompson, K. (2003). Forms of resistance: Foucault on tactical reversal and self-formation. *Continental Philosophy Review,*

36, 113-138.

Tominaga, K. (2017). Social reproduction and the limitations of protest camps: openness and exclusion of social movements in Japan. *Social Movement Studies, 16*(3), 269-282. doi:10.1080/14742837.2017.1279960.

Troy, P. (2009). The Commonwealth Housing Commission and National Housing Policy. *State of Australian Cities: National Conference 2009*, 1-26.

Urban Growth NSW Development Corporation. (2018). About us. Retrieved from https://www.ugdc.nsw.gov.au/what-we-do/about-us/. Accessed 2 December 2018.

Usher, M. (2014). Veins of Concrete, Cities of Flow: Reasserting the Centrality of Circulation in Foucault's Analytics of Government. *Mobilities, 9*(4), 550-569. doi:10.1080/17450101.2014.961263.

Vale, L. J. (2013). *Purging the Poorest: Public Housing and the Design Politics of Twice-cleared Communities*. New York: New York University Press.

Wacquant, L. (2007). Territorial Stigmatization in the Age of Advanced Marginality. *Thesis Eleven, 91*(1), 66-77. doi:10.1177/0725513607082003.

Wacquant, L. (2012). Three steps to a historical anthropology of actually existing neoliberalism. *Social Anthropology, 20*(1), 66-79. doi:10.1111/j.1469-8676.2011.00189.x.

Waitt, G. (2008). Doing discourse analysis. In I. Hay (Ed.), *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography* (Second Edition). South Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Watson, I. (2009). Sovereign Spaces, Caring for Country, and the Homeless Position of Aboriginal Peoples. *South Atlantic Quarterly, 108*(1), 27-51. doi:10.1215/00382876-2008-021

Watt, P. (2008). 'Underclass' and 'ordinary people' discourses: Representing/re-presenting council tenants in a housing campaign. *Critical Discourse Studies, 5*(4), 345-357. doi:10.1080/17405900802405288

Watt, P. (2009). Housing Stock Transfers, Regeneration and State-

Led Gentrification in London. *Urban Policy and Research, 27*(3), 229-242. doi:10.1080/08111140903154147.

Watt, P. (2016). A nomadic war machine in the metropolis *City, 20*(2), 297-320. doi:10.1080/13604813.2016.1153919.

Watt, P., & Jacobs, K. (2000). Discourses of Social Exclusion: An Analysis of Bringing Britain Together: A National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal. *Housing, Theory and Society, 17*(1), 14-26. doi:10.1080/140360900750044746.

Weeks, J. (2017) 'I feel on the verge of extinction': the battle for Sydney's Waterloo. *The Guardian*, 12 July 2017. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2017/jul/12/i-feel-on-the-verge-of-extinction-the-battle-for-sydneys-waterloo. Accessed on 8 May 2019.

WeLiveHere. (2018). #WeLiveHere2017 website. Retrieved from http://www.welivehere2017.com.au/about/. Accessed 8 November 2018.

Williams, P. (1997). Inclusionary zoning and strategic planning. *Australian Planner, 34*, 16-21.

Wilson, W. J. (1987). *The truly disadvantaged: The inner city, the underclass and public policy* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

WPHAG. (2016). Waterloo tent embassy. Retrieved from https://wphag.wordpress.com/2016/06/22/first-blog-post/. Accessed 2 May 2019.

Wright, P. A. (2006). Community Resistance to CHA Transformation, pp. 125-167. In L. Bennett, J. Smith, & P. A. Wright (Eds.), *Where Are Poor People to Live? Transforming Public Housing Communities* (1st edition,). Armonk NY.

Wynne, L., (2016a) The Battle for Waterloo: rethinking social engineering in inner-city Sydney. *Commotion*, Spring 2016.

Wynne, L. (2016b) Let's be frank about diversity and renewal. *New Planner*, issue 108, September 2016.

Wynne, L. (2017a) Social housing renewal: threats to tenant stability and security. *Parity*, September edition.

Wynne, L. (2017b) We Live Here: Creative Resistance to Urban

Renewal in a Sydney Public Housing Estate. *Presentation to the Institute of Australian Geographers Conference*, Brisbane, July 11-13 2017.

Wynne, L. (2017c) Trying to stay local in Sydney's 'global arc': social housing tenant perspectives. *Proceedings of the State of Australian Cities Conference 2017*, Adelaide, 28-30 November 2017.

Wynne, L. (2018a) Housing as right, home as privilege: Social housing reform, redevelopment and the denial of 'home'. *Presentation to the IAG/NZGS Conference*, Auckland, 9-13 July 2018.

Wynne, L. (2018b) Managing the 'opportunity group': NSW social housing policy and technologies of the self. *Presentation to the Problematic Populations Symposium*, Hobart, 14-15 June 2018.

Wynne, L. (2018c) Technologies of Performance: Using governmentality to understand social housing reform in NSW. *Presentation to the Housing Theory Symposium*, Wollongong, 5-6 February 2018.

Wynne, L. (2019a). Empowerment and the individualisation of resistance: A Foucauldian perspective on Theatre of the Oppressed. *Critical Social Policy*. https://doi.org/10.1177/0261018319839309

Wynne, L. (2019b) We may not own these houses, but these are our homes. *Meanjin*, Autumn 2019.

Ziersch, A., & Arthurson, K. (2005). Social Networks in Public and Community Housing: The Impact on Employment Outcomes. *Urban Policy and Research, 23*(4), 429-445. doi:10.1080/08111470500354265

Appendix 1

Wynne, L. (2019a). Empowerment and the individualisation of resistance: A Foucauldian perspective on Theatre of the Oppressed. *Critical Social Policy* (online first). doi.org/10.1177/0261018319839309.

Critical Social Policy

Article

Empowerment and the individualisation of resistance: A Foucauldian perspective on Theatre of the Oppressed

LAURA WYNNE
University of Tasmania, Australia

Abstract

Waterloo, in Sydney, Australia, is a neighbourhood currently dominated by a large public housing estate. The estate is to be redeveloped to be a 'socially mixed' community largely comprised of private residents. Many current residents of Waterloo have organised in opposition to the redevelopment. At the same time, government and community development agencies have implemented a number of capacity building and consultation programmes for residents, including a theatre performance. Programmes of empowerment are increasingly used by the state and the third sector to encourage disadvantaged or marginalised citizens to 'take responsibility' for their own lives. In this article, I examine a performance coordinated by a community theatre group that uses the 'Theatre of the Oppressed' format, intended to allow participants to identify ways to overthrow the forces that oppress them. I use a Foucauldian conception of power, subjectivity and resistance to critically examine the performance in its context. I explore ways in which the Theatre of the Oppressed format was applied (perhaps unintentionally) in such a way that it reinforced a vision of the situation as immutable and unchangeable, placing the onus on residents to transform their own actions to deliver change. Such framing makes any effort at resistance appear absurd, and is anything but empowering for residents.

Corresponding author:
Laura Wynne, University of Tasmania, Private Bag 51, Hobart, Tasmania 7001, Australia.
Email: laura.wynne@utas.edu.au

Critical Social Policy 1–19

DOI: 10.1177/0261018319839309 journals.sagepub.com/home/csp
SAGE

Key words
Boal, Foucault, housing, renewal, resistance, Theatre of the Oppressed

Introduction

Programmes of empowerment and responsibilisation are increasingly being deployed in the management of problematised populations such as social housing residents, welfare recipients and the homeless (Cruikshank, 1999). Such programmes have led welfare agencies to transform themselves from providing support services to implementing disciplinary strategies to responsibilise recipients (Schram et al., 2010), and housing agencies to shift from a focus on managing properties to managing the behaviour of their tenants (Flint, 2002; Franklin and Clapham, 1997). Foucault's work has proven useful in bringing to light the paradoxical effects of empowerment programmes, especially in demonstrating the ways in which empowerment and participation programmes can have regulatory, as well as liberatory, effects (Cruikshank, 1999; McKee, 2011) and how they are implicated in an increasingly disciplinary approach to managing tenants, focused on responsibility rather than rights (Flint, 2004). Foucault's understanding of power as 'everywhere' has also helped researchers unpick the rhetoric around empowerment, reminding us that subjects cannot be liberated from power relations through participation in empowerment programmes (McKee, 2007).

Foucauldian approaches have been applied to explore the types of engagement and participation processes common to neoliberal governance, as well as responsibiliation programmes. In this article, I apply a Foucauldian approach to an empowerment programme delivered in a space between government and citizens – the third sector. I consider what comes to light when we look at 'Theatre of the Oppressed' through a Foucauldian lens, using this to pull apart some questions relating to power, resistance and subjectivity that arise from a community performance.

This article focuses on a theatre production staged in Waterloo, in the state of New South Wales, Australia. Waterloo, in inner city Sydney, is home to one of the state's largest remaining inner-city public housing estates, with around 2,200 apartments. The estate is subject to a redevelopment programme, which will see the existing buildings demolished, the land leased to private developers and new residential development that will be 70% private housing. While density increases will allow for most residents to be relocated to new community housing on site, the redevelopment involves upheaval for residents. Previous research has demonstrated the significant and multiple impacts that residents experience even in redevelopment projects that allow them to return to a nearby neighbourhood, including lowered perceptions

of safety and security (Clampet-Lundquist, 2010), severed social ties (Clampet-Lundquist, 2004), disruption of a 'shared project of living' (Manzo et al., 2008), and cultural and political displacement (Hyra, 2015). Many incumbent residents of redeveloped areas are likely to experience displacement even in instances where they remain physically in place (Davidson, 2009).

Residents of Waterloo have engaged in several projects to resist the redevelopment, including a number of artistic projects and the formation of an action group, aiming to call attention to their displacement and to prevent the demolition of their homes. My ethnographic research has identified that residents have struggled consistently with the question of whether or not they have any power to affect change through resistance.

The theatre production that this article focuses on was called *Tumbling Towers*,[1] and was put on by local residents in partnership with a local community service organisation and a local theatre group that works with marginalised communities. The two performances followed an eight-week series of workshops in which participants learnt about the production format – Theatre of the Oppressed – and shared stories, wrote a script and rehearsed scenes. The participants were residents of public housing, most of whom lived on the Waterloo estate; however, a few participants lived in public housing elsewhere nearby.

Theatre of the Oppressed is intended as a framework for activism in theatre (Schutzman, 1990), aiming not just to deliver stories of the oppressed, but to engage actors and the audience in creating solutions and interventions that could alleviate oppression, improve situations and empower the oppressed. Its creator, Augusto Boal, wanted his method to be considered more than just theatre and performance – he called his method 'a rehearsal of revolution' (Dwyer, 2007; Schutzman, 1990; Snyder-Young, 2011) and expected the method would offer participants 'tools for liberation' (Österlind, 2008). Boal saw his methods as tools that could be drawn upon by marginalised communities to develop and improve strategies of resistance and to recruit others through involvement in performances. Theatre of the Oppressed is intended to be an opportunity to 'experiment' with problem-solving on individual, group and societal levels (Österlind, 2008: 73).

There are two acts to a Theatre of the Oppressed play: the initial performance of a scripted play, and the reply, which involves interventions and is interactive. The format involves two 'jokers', who in the *Tumbling Towers* performance were staff from a local theatre company, who ask the actors to replay the scenes from the first act, then invite input from the audience about how each scene could be changed to alter the outcome. The jokers' task is to 'both support and provoke' (Österlind, 2008: 77), encouraging the audience to come up with alternative actions that could be taken by protagonists to improve outcomes from particular confrontations or instances of discrimination. Audience members are invited to share suggestions about how protagonists' actions could

be altered and to come on stage to 'substitute' into the role of the protagonist to replay the scene with their suggested amendments. The purpose here is to bring the audience into the play, transforming them from passive observers to 'spect-actors', encouraging them to actively think and perform, coming up with possible solutions to the problems presented by the play.

Tumbling Towers made use of Theatre of the Oppressed not simply to present a story of oppression and domination but to work through ways of resolving the difficulties faced by residents, apparently providing them with tools to overthrow their oppression. However, as I argue throughout this article, Theatre of the Oppressed relies on a dichotomous understanding of subject positions and the power available to them, relying on a conception of 'the oppressed' as powerless while simultaneously requiring them to be responsible for changing an apparently intractable status quo. This framing is particularly salient when considered against the backdrop of residents' doubts about whether resistance could achieve change. In this article, I explore the ways in which a Foucauldian viewpoint might help us unveil the contradictions and shortcomings of Theatre of the Oppressed. I use Foucauldian understandings of subjectivity, power and resistance to help shed light on the ways in which *Tumbling Towers* may have fallen short of its promise as a 'rehearsal for the revolution' – and to examine how it may have served to reify residents' perceptions that they are struggling against an immutable structure. *Tumbling Towers*, despite its liberatory intentions, reified some of the paralysing structures that residents are finding themselves butting up against in trying to resist the redevelopment of their estate.

In the section that follows, I explain the key elements of the Foucauldian perspective that I adopt throughout.

Foucault: Power and subjectivity

Power, for Foucault, is everywhere: it is 'always already there', and one can never be 'outside' power (Foucault, 1988: 141). It is distributed through a 'net-like organisation' and is the force behind every social relation (Foucault, 1988: 98).

This conceptualisation of power as omnipresent need not be seen as pessimistic, as Foucault drew upon a conception of power that was productive, rather than repressive (Foucault, 2002: 120). He argued that power should not be seen as a force that says 'no', but rather one which produces things: effects, subjectivities, actions (Foucault, 2002: 120). His interest in power's capacity to produce particular forms of actions and behaviour led him to focus in particular on governing as the 'conduct of conduct' – that is, governance as a process which, through structuring the field of possible actions of others (Foucault, 1982: 790), elicits particular kinds of actions from subjects without force.

A key departure from other theories of power is perhaps that, for Foucault, power functions as a verb rather than a noun: it is conceptualised as an action or a capacity, rather than a structure. Heller argues that Foucault came to see power (and resistance) as a capacity – as the ability to create social change (Heller, 1996). This conceptualisation has implications for the type of questions it gives rise to: for Foucault, argue Kendall and Wickham (Kendall and Wickham, 1999), the most relevant question is not asking *what* power is but rather *how* it works.

Although he explicitly discussed resistance far less frequently than he addressed questions of power, resistance was also central to Foucault's analytics. Foucault did not see power as anything essentially different from resistance – rather, he saw power and resistance as two forms of the same thing (Heller, 1996: 99). Foucault saw both power and resistance as being transformative capacity, different only as they are exercised by subjects occupying different subject positions: power exercised by those in subject positions with more techniques of power at their disposal, and resistance exercised by those occupying subject positions with fewer techniques of power available to them (Heller, 1996: 99). Foucault argues that resistance is a potential response to *every* exercise of power, the opposite (though certainly not always equal) force responding to every power relation: as soon as there is a power relation, there is the possibility of resistance (Foucault, 1989: 153). Heller also notes that Foucault did not imbue this transformative capacity with any kind of value judgement: power (and so, too, resistance) is neither essentially good nor bad, as it is simply a capacity (Heller, 1996).

Despite the repeated appearance of 'power' in his work, Foucault notes that his interest in the concept stems primarily from his ongoing study of subjectification (Foucault, 1982: 778). Foucault becomes interested in power because all subjects, in his view, are situated in power relations that are constitutive of the subject – subjects cannot exist without power and do not pre-exist power relations. Power, for Foucault, is defined as actions on others' actions, and in this way it presupposes, rather than annuls, subjects' capacity as agents (Gordon, 1991: 5).

Foucault says that power is everywhere and subjects are its vehicles (Foucault, 1988: 98); however, he does not mean to imply that all subjects are *equal* vehicles for power or that they each have equal access to the techniques of power (Heller, 1996). Instead, he acknowledges that inequalities in power distribution exist, noting that some subject positions may be more powerful than others (that is, some positions may have greater access to the exercise of the techniques of power than others). Following Foucault, Heller describes the power exercised by those in the dominant positions as being hegemonic, and the power exercised by those in subject positions of lesser power (that is, with fewer or lesser techniques of power at their disposal) characterised as counter-hegemony or resistance. Therefore, while Foucault relies on a conceptualisation

of power and resistance as the same type of force – transformative capacity – he did not conceive of power and resistance as indistinguishable, nor did he fail to see that power and resistance can have different effects (Heller, 1996).

Methods

This article draws on data collected through a year-long participant observation of resident actions around the Waterloo public housing estate renewal. I observed over 100 hours of community meetings, forums, workshops resident action group meetings and other events. I made detailed field notes of my observations in these sessions. I also undertook interviews with four key community members actively involved in organising opposition to the redevelopment.

This article focuses primarily on the theatre workshops and performances I observed as part of the *Tumbling Towers* programme. I participated in the workshops that were held in preparation for the performance. While consent was provided by the participants in the production, I was unable to secure permission from the theatre company that was facilitating the workshops and performance to observe the workshops as part of my research. Given the final performances were public, and were filmed and shared online, the theatre company provided consent for me to observe the performances. The reflections discussed in this article are drawn primarily from the field notes written after observing these performances, but I also draw upon the insights gained from the observations and interviews conducted in the broader ethnography.

I attended both performances of *Tumbling Towers*, taking extensive field notes throughout both performances. The performances were very similar, and though the specific details of the audience contributions varied slightly, they tended in fact to be most remarkable for the consistency across the two performances. The field notes taken during the performances include jottings about events and scenes in the play, and served as prompts for further field notes written after each performance. These notes, recorded immediately following the performance, reflected in particular on the use of the Theatre of the Oppressed format and the ways in which audience members handled the interventions.

Findings

The challenges of resistance

My interest in the way that power and resistance were portrayed in this theatre event stemmed in part from the challenges I had observed amongst residents

of Waterloo as they worked to oppose the redevelopment of their neighbourhood.

Residents who were engaged in activism around the redevelopment were torn about *how* to engage in resistance. In particular, they struggled to resolve a question around whether to protest or to negotiate. For many members of the resident action group, participation in government processes seemed like capitulation, while, to others, negotiation and participation in government processes was the only way to achieve meaningful progress. The following excerpt from my field notes captures a discussion in an action group meeting in which these concerns were being discussed:

> Simon said 'we need to attend [the community engagement sessions], otherwise we have nothing. There could always be a trap, getting us to agree to what they've already planned to do. But we must attend, otherwise we have nothing.'
>
> Catriona responded: 'we need to be careful we don't get caught negotiating on small things week to week but can't see the big picture. [The Government] is pulling everyone from one issue to another.'
>
> Then Corinne asked a question about whether by participating we are giving them legitimacy; 'should we refuse to attend so that they can't claim to have been consultative?' No one really knew how to answer her question. (Field notes, Action group meeting, September 2017)

Many of the residents who believed that participation in government consultation programmes was the best strategy appeared to believe that the residents were powerless to stop the redevelopment, and felt that negotiating for improved outcomes was the best the residents could hope for. Those who advocated for protest and refusal were concerned that participation in government engagement would be to concede that the redevelopment was inevitable:

> Why are you bothering to be involved in community consultation at all if you are totally opposed to the redevelopment? (Bill, Action group meeting, February 2017)
>
> I'm not sure why we need consultation given we don't want the redevelopment. They [the government representatives] can f**k off! [(Paul, Action group meeting, February 2017)

Of course, many residents oscillated between their positions: some weeks they would express a sense of powerlessness, while others they might be firm about their obligation to protest against the redevelopment. These questions about

how to engage in resistance and whether they might be able to change the system were at the core of the internal challenges faced by those engaged in activism. Throughout the remainder of this section, I draw on examples from the theatre event to explore these challenges. First, however, I will briefly describe the performance.

The performance

The play was in two acts, each with four scenes. In the first scene, residents were invited to a meeting at which the Minister announced the redevelopment plans. The scene mimicked an actual community engagement meeting held in Waterloo in early 2016, including the language used at that event. The Minister provided very little information to residents but offered them a barbecue as a distraction. A character called 'Miss Information' appeared, and tried to distract residents using buzzwords and jargon.

In the second scene, a community developer worker attempted to provide the residents with information, but was unable to answer their questions.

The third scene saw a resident invited to a meeting with community engagement staff. The staff failed to answer any of the residents' questions, instead providing a voluminous handbook about the redevelopment and requesting that the resident familiarise themselves with the government's jargon to 'help our communications'.

The final scene involved residents receiving letters about where they would be 'relocated' to. There was a sense of powerlessness in this scene, with residents noting that they 'don't have a choice' about their future.

Each of these scenes broadly mirrored actual events at the estate, and focused on the residents' reaction to these events. The government's own language from actual documents was used to satirise the government's actions, bringing humour into the portrayal.

The second act involved a replay of each of these four scenes, but with the audience interventions. The Jokers invited audience members to suggest ways in which the characters' actions might be changed to improve the outcomes from the situation. Audience members who made suggestions were then invited on stage to replay the scene with the altered actions.

A revolution within limits

Theatre of the Oppressed focuses not only on telling the stories of the oppressed, but on creating an interactive space in which the audience is brought into the story as problem solvers, suggesting ways that the situation could be changed and improved. In an immediate replay of the initial performance, the jokers pause the action on stage, and prompt the audience to suggest how the actors could alter their behaviour to change the situation.

In *Tumbling Towers*, these suggested interventions, without exception, relied on the characters representing the residents of Waterloo, but not those representing government employees and others, to change their behaviour. This was specified by the Jokers, who told the audience that they must assume that the antagonists could not change, and that only the characters representing Waterloo residents could act differently – the actions of the government staff, ministers and others were not open for alteration. This is consistent with Boal's original method, in which the behaviour of the protagonists (the oppressed) could be altered but the behaviour of the antagonists (the oppressors) could not (Snyder-Young, 2011). Boal cautioned that it would be 'idealistic' to attempt to change the attitudes and actions of the oppressor, and so, therefore, the emphasis is placed on 'changing ourselves' in order to effect change (O'Sullivan, 2001: 89).

In *Tumbling Towers*, this framing presented a major problem for participants and audience – how to effect positive change in a broken system? In one scene, a group of residents tried to get information from a government staff member at a consultation event. The staff member promises that details will be forthcoming once further planning was completed. The Jokers paused the action and asked the audience for input, but noted that the actions of the bureaucrat were not to be altered. This meant that the only ways in which the situation could be transformed would be for the residents' characters to rephrase their questions and push harder for information. In the 'replay', the effect of this was paralysing, with the residents continually changing their behaviour, adopting bureaucratic language, trying to beat the government at their own game, but with the system stacked against them. Thus, while the purpose was to demonstrate that characters' actions could be changed because they had agency to stand and act against a dysfunctional system, the effect was almost the opposite of what was intended, with the characters running up against an immoveable, intractable system no matter how they changed their actions. Österlind notes that 'the thought, or illusion, that our problems are personal is part of the general oppression' (Österlind, 2008: 80) – bringing to mind the way in which Foucault argued that governmentalities are pervasive and work through the desires and freedoms of subjects. By reifying this notion that oppression stems solely from – and its solution lies solely in – the personal, *Tumbling Towers* nullified a resistance that could radically reinvent or reimagine the system. Instead, it (perhaps unintentionally) presented a system as unproblematic and unchangeable, offering up only individual behaviour as a means to improve social outcomes.

This problem does not appear to be unique to *Tumbling Towers*, and has been identified by others in critiquing Theatre of the Oppressed as a means of articulating or imagining resistance. Edkvist, providing critical input regarding a Theatre of the Oppressed production, notes that participants 'try to deal with the situations in the small scale, to change [their] actions within the

structures rather than targeting the structures themselves' (quoted in Österlind, 2008: 79). Edkvist notes that emphasising the ways in which social problems and oppression are not merely personal but are 'intertwined and dependent on cultural norms, social systems and political and commercial influences' may be influential in avoiding a view of the oppressed as being 'a victim to unknown forces' (quoted in Österlind, 2008: 79). Such a perspective is relevant for the residents of Waterloo given their persistent struggle with questions of resistance and effecting change. The lessons handed down through *Tumbling Towers*, while emphasising the agency of residents, tend to be rather dismissive of the potential of resistance to achieve change.

Therapy or resistance?

A key criticism that surrounds Theatre of the Oppressed relates to whether it is actually capable of providing, as Boal intended, a 'rehearsal for the revolution', or whether it has become merely a tool for personal development (O'Sullivan, 2001).

Increasingly, in neoliberal governmental rationality, social problems are framed as the result of individual failings and shortcomings (Cruikshank, 1999; Dean, 2010). Following from this, improvement and empowerment programmes targeted at individuals are increasingly put forward as the solution to social problems and inequalities (Cruikshank, 1999).

Boal developed his methods while working with 'illiterate farmers' and 'oppressed peasants' in rural Brazil and Peru (Shawyer, 2011), attempting to provide them with tools to resist dictatorial military regimes. Reflecting on the use of Theatre of the Oppressed in developed-world contexts, Schutzman argues it is problematic to transpose this 'third world aesthetic of resistance' into a 'first world aesthetic of self-help' (Schutzman, 1990: 78). Indeed, attempting to merely transplant the model is likely to be challenging for a number of reasons. However, we should not assume that resistance is only relevant in third-world contexts and that it cannot take place in the first world, nor that first-world problems are all of a 'self-help' nature.

Tumbling Towers relied upon reforming the actions of individuals as a path towards improving outcomes for residents around the Waterloo redevelopment. The problems facing the residents of Waterloo are significant, and include displacement, gentrification and the dispersal of their community. The performance, however, framed the challenges facing the residents of Waterloo as the responsibility of individuals, and emphasised working on the individual's capacity to alter these situations. The audience was encouraged to look for ways that the individual could participate more meaningfully, how they could improve their interactions to get a (minutely) better outcome.

This framing aligns with the responsibilisation agenda in social policy across the western world, and in particular in housing. Flint (2004),

McKee (2008), Bradley (2012) and others have discussed how governments – particularly in the UK, but also elsewhere – have used the notion of the responsible citizen as a technology of the self to guide particular action.

Theatre of the Oppressed reinforces the neoliberal figure of the self-responsible individual by placing the onus for action and change squarely upon the shoulders of the oppressed. The audience is called upon to make changes to the behaviour of the protagonist (the oppressed) which might improve the situation – the implication being that the individual is responsible for the problem and, therefore, that the solution lies within their own behaviour.

Returning to Schutzman's notion that Theatre of the Oppressed becomes therapy once transplanted into a first-world context, we should understand this not as a reflection of the nature of social problems in the first world – which do not, if we are taking a Foucauldian standpoint, have an inherent nature themselves but which are discursively constructed – but rather as a reflection on the rationalities that allow certain framings to be accepted as true. Indeed, the neoliberal construction of social problems as stemming from individual shortcomings encourages us to see the solutions to these problems as lying with improvements to individual behaviour. The framing of the interventions in *Tumbling Towers* reflects the extent to which this rationality around individual responsibility has been imbibed even by those who are actively engaged in resisting.

Individuals over institutions

Ettlinger notes that, from a Foucauldian perspective, the targets of resistance should not be individuals and the institutions they represent but rather mentalities, discourses and norms which shape subjectivities and possible actions (Ettlinger, 2011: 549).

Schutzman notes that Theatre of the Oppressed 'works to explore options at the moment of discrimination' rather than looking for broader solutions to entrenched political, social and economic inequalities (Schutzman, 1990). Indeed, *Tumbling Towers* focused on addressing individual moments of conflict experienced by residents, rather than addressing the broader, systemic rationalities that allow public housing residents to be turned out of their homes.

When the Jokers invited the audience to provide suggestions about improving outcomes from particular situations, the focus was on relations between two individuals. For example, in the third scene, which involved a farcical meeting between a resident and two community engagement staff, it was the conduct of the two engagement staff that became the focus of the intervention. Audience members were invited to identify how the resident's conduct might be altered to improve the relationship and communication she

had with these staff. This focus made it seem as though the target of resistance was these individuals themselves.

In this way, *Tumbling Towers* reduced the enormity of the challenges facing Waterloo's public housing residents – which include displacement and the dispersal of their community – to interpersonal conflicts between residents and government officials, rather than looking more broadly at the ways in which such treatment is made possible through governmental rationalities and strategies. This emphasis on interpersonal conflicts 'preserves the impression that it is corrupt or evil individuals who are oppressing protagonists in an otherwise fair and equitable system' (O'Sullivan, 2001: 92), rather than highlighting the ways in which exploitation and inequalities are embodied in the very rationalities underpinning the status quo. This framing allows the status quo to not just remain intact but to be strengthened through minor reforms that make oppression easier to bear (O'Sullivan, 2001).

The oppressed/oppressor dyad

Central to Boal's method are the binary protagonist/antagonist (oppressed/oppressor) subject roles (Hamel, 2013). All characters within Boal's format must fit into these subject positions. These subject positions are also crucial for the interactive stage of the play – the antagonist's behaviour is not up for alteration, only that of the protagonists, and when audience members are invited to step on stage, they must step into the role of the protagonist (the oppressed) and not any other positions.

The dichotomous relation between subjects which are oppressed and those which are oppressors is not merely incidental to Theatre of the Oppressed but is in fact an underlying principle that structures the format. Snyder-Young claims that in Theatre of the Oppressed, the oppression is 'clear cut': 'antagonists have power, protagonists do not' (Snyder-Young, 2011: 37). In general, characters must fall into either of these two roles, and there is little opportunity for addressing the ways in which characters might alternate roles or occupy grey spaces in between these binary positions.

The relationship between the characters of the residents and the community development worker is illustrative of the implications of imagining subjects in such binary roles.

In the play's second scene, the community development worker is surrounded by residents who are trying to get information out of her. They ask specific questions about the redevelopment, but she is unable to find the answers in the information provided to her by the government. The residents' questions rise in volume and pitch as they move around the worker, who provides no answers to their questions, and eventually calls for silence.

When this scene was replayed and interventions were invited, the community development worker was pitted as the antagonist, while the resi-

dents were the protagonists whose actions were up for alteration. This places these characters – residents and the community development worker – in the dichotomous oppressed/oppressor relation that recurs in Theatre of the Oppressed.

In the case of the community development worker, this binary relation becomes particularly confused. Community development workers are not strictly government, nor are they necessarily community. Increasingly, such organisations and the individuals who work for them have become responsible for delivering government agendas and are accountable to governments for funding. These organisations are increasingly administering programmes related to welfare provision and responsibilisation.

In the case of Waterloo, community development workers are in a tight spot. Though ostensibly independent, most of the local community organisations get their funding from the government. They have also received specific allocations of funding to employ community development staff to assist with consultation and capacity building relating to the redevelopment. However, these organisations see that they have a role in supporting and assisting the community, as they have done so for decades and will continue to do so through aspects of the redevelopment process. In general, they seem to attempt not to take sides. They work to advocate for the community, but perhaps in a limited way.

These community development workers in many ways do some of the work of the state. In capacity building roles, they work to increase the community's knowledge of planning and development concepts – not so that they can successfully oppose the redevelopment but so they can participate fully in official participation processes. In many ways, the role of these development workers is to implement the work of the state in transforming these residents into responsible, active, participating citizens. Thus, they are in some ways an extension of the state, a branch that is ostensibly 'non-government' but that uses technologies of the self, such as responsibilisation, to do the work of government themselves.

However, they are also an extension of the community. These workers live in and around the Waterloo neighbourhood. They are known to, relied upon and trusted by the Waterloo community. They coordinate and support many of the important community activities that occur. They represent the community's needs to the government, advocating for support and meaningful consultation.

This, then, raises questions for the dichotomous oppressed/oppressor roles. Foucault was interested in how individuals can occupy different subject positions, how these can be fluid and changeable, have different implications depending on the power relations they are engaged in. Further, he was interested in how power – including governmental power – is not merely top-down, is not just wielded by 'the state' but is diffused throughout society, a

net-like structure that flows through varied channels, that has different points of application that will look different depending on perspective. In neoliberal contexts, non-state actors such as private companies and non-government organisations have increasingly become responsible for governing.

The community development workers undoubtedly act, at certain points at least, as agents of the state, enacting technologies of power such as the responsibilisation agenda. But placing them in the role of oppressors, without nuance or thought for the complexity of the position they occupy, fails to attend to the complex situations individuals find themselves in, and fails to look at how governmental power is intertwined within other institutions that do not look, from the outside, like the government. It also fails to attend to the fact that such organisations and individuals may have liberatory intentions, or may truly wish to advocate for public housing residents, or the ways in which the individuals who work for these organisations may resist the dominant governmentalities of community development work.

Tumbling Towers' refusal to consider community development workers as occupying anything other than the 'oppressor' subject position meant that the role that such workers might play in assisting the community could not be considered. They were, for the purposes portrayed here, part of a fixed and immoveable system. There was no room for resistance, no consideration that the community development workers might themselves occupy ambiguous roles or that they might wish to help the community. The dichotomous oppressed/oppressor relationship that is so pivotal to the Theatre of the Oppressed model thwarted any opportunity in *Tumbling Towers* to explore resistance or ambiguities on the part of non-state actors such as community development workers, or of state actors such as housing professionals.

Not only does this construction fail to account for the dynamic and changeable nature of subject positions, it also fails to recognise the ways in which subject positions may be relative – that is, the ways in which the oppressed/oppressor relation may look different depending on one's vantage point. As noted by Schutzman, 'such a simple division' between oppressors and oppressed 'misrepresents the actual conditions of people' (1990: 79). The unambiguous dyad between the oppressors and the oppressed found here reinforces a perception of power as a thing that may be 'possessed' by some groups but not others, and fails to recognise that many intersecting and overlapping power dynamics may be in play, potentially meaning those perceived to be oppressors in one situation (for example, housing professionals) may be oppressed in another (as employees of government intent on reforming their behaviour, as per Dufty (2011)). This also fails to recognise the possibility that they might also resist governmental technologies – when these subjects are imagined as agents who are both vehicles of and targets of state power, we see that they might become points at which resistance could occur. Indeed,

both Dufty (2011) and Nethercote (2014) describe the ways in which housing professionals resist various aspects of centralised housing policy.

The dichotomous subject positions also raise a question that is never resolved by Theatre of the Oppressed – what happens if the oppressed successfully resisted the oppressors and overthrew them? Would they then adopt the role of oppressors, too? The centrality of these dichotomous subject positions to the rationality of Theatre of the Oppressed suggests that this dyadic relation is forever present, complicating efforts to resist.

Discussion and conclusion

Since the government's announcement of the project, the residents of Waterloo that have been engaged in opposition to the redevelopment have struggled repeatedly with the question of whether they could achieve meaningful change through their actions. Many residents believed that meaningful and significant change was possible through resistance, and encouraged others to resist the entire redevelopment project. Other residents believed that such change was impossible and that they, the oppressed, could have no such influence. Rather, these residents believed, they should act within the structures established by governmental departments and advocate for their needs within these structures.

The latter of these two viewpoints stems from an understanding of the existing system as immutable, as so powerful and omnipresent as to be an unchallengeable reality. This conception comes as a result of governmentalities that encourage subjects to take for granted the logic of neoliberal policies and programmes, and to see such arrangements as inevitable. The effect of this is to reify the notions of structure – the powerful and well-established systems and networks of rule that determine the lives of the less powerful who are subjected to it – counterposed with agency, being the ability of individuals to act against the determinations of structure.

The structure/agency dichotomy has been something of an obsession for the social sciences throughout the 20th and 21st centuries – sociological debate has been largely concerned with whether individual agency or the social structures into which one is born will have a greater impact upon social outcomes. From this perspective, an understanding of resistance becomes focused on whether individuals have the capacity to overcome structure, which is here seen as an underlying social force limiting freedom that must be overcome through the realisation of agency (Rose et al., 2006: 100).

Foucault, however, was not interested in structure/agency debates. For Foucauldian scholars, the sociological obsession with structure versus agency is something of a moot point (Rose et al., 2006). The structure/agency debate relies on the notion of an overly deterministic structure which governs social

outcomes for individuals on one hand, and free subjects which are absolutely able to determine their own social outcomes on the other. A Foucauldian understanding of neoliberal governmentality shows us that each individual has agency but that 'freedom' is not the absence of constraint but rather an invented array of technologies of the self (Rose et al., 2006), and likewise 'structure' is not a pre-existing determiner of social outcomes but rather the product of discursive and governmental technologies.

Tumbling Towers depicted a situation in which residents were powerless to affect change in terms of governmental structures or rationalities – the only aspects of the action which could be changed were the actions of the residents themselves. By limiting resistance in this way, *Tumbling Towers* depicted 'structure' as an immoveable, unchangeable reality against which individuals must exercise their agency, despite this being unlikely to create change. By precluding the option to reimagine structure, Theatre of the Oppressed limits the possibilities for change to individual behaviour.

What this reification of structure and agency appears to do is convince residents that there is a 'system' within which resides power, and makes them feel as though they sit outside this: they come to feel that they fall outside a network of power relations to which they are merely subjected. This not only alienates them from access to the techniques of power, but also makes them feel as though the 'system' is out of their reach. This is what then gives rise to the notion that it is futile to resist and that residents would instead be better off engaging with the government through formal consultation processes.

A Foucauldian view emphasises imagining how things could be otherwise as the essential component of resistance (Foucault, 1982) – resistance relies on being able to see that current circumstances are neither necessary nor fixed, but rather contingent and changeable. This perspective helps us see the ways in which Boal's approach to resistance might be limiting. Referring to the paralysing effects of these interventions in Theatre of the Oppressed, Österlind argues that the concept that 'everything is possible; it only depends on you' is just as misleading as the belief that 'everything depends on the structures; you can't do anything' (Österlind, 2008: 80). Both are paralysing, for they either mean that change is wholly contingent on the individual's capacity or that change is impossible no matter the individual capacity. By assuming that change relies entirely on altering one's individual actions, the possibility of radical change to rationalities underpinning governmental action is precluded.

Österlind argues that the merging of the personal and the political in Theatre of the Oppressed is a strength, not a weakness (2008: 81). Indeed, assisting the realisation that citizens are not disconnected to politics, power and resistance is a potential strength of this approach. However, framing the political as purely personal, and the individual as responsible not only for social problems but also for their solutions, echoes the neoliberal playbook

that would see us individualise both the causes and solutions for social disadvantage, marginalisation and injustice. Theatre and other creative, participatory methods may well provide tools to help citizens identify strategies of resistance to powerful actors; however, these tools must recognise that we cannot place the burden for change upon those most marginalised in our society.

The intention of Theatre of the Oppressed as a community development tool is to clarify options and opportunities for resisting oppression and improving the circumstances of oppressed people. In Waterloo, residents were in need of guidance about how they might engage in successful strategies to oppose the redevelopment of their neighbourhood. *Tumbling Towers*, though intended as a tool to guide residents, appeared to serve to reify the notion that the system was unchangeable and the actions put in place by the government were inevitable, unalterable. Residents were looking for tools that would allow them to work through their agency to change the system, but *Tumbling Towers* suggested that residents should work through their agency to change *themselves*.

Many of the tools of community development, such as empowerment and responsibiliation techniques, serve to reify neoliberal rationalities concerning the responsibility of individual for managing their own life outcomes and social risk. If community development is to help the vulnerable in society work to advocate for their own interests, participants need tools which both recognise their own agency and serve to de-stabilise the dominant governmental rationalities and strategies, rather than to reinforce them.

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank Professor Keith Jacobs and Dr Kathleen Flanagan for their comments on earlier versions of this article, as well as the residents of Waterloo, who made indispensable contributions to this research.

Funding

This research is supported by an Australian Government Research Training Program (RTP) Scholarship.

Note

1. Both the name of the theatre production and the names of research participants have been changed.

References

Bradley Q (2012) Proud to be a tenant: The construction of common cause among residents in social housing. *Housing Studies* 27(8): 1124–1141. DOI: 10.1080/02673037.2012.728574.

Clampet-Lundquist S (2004) HOPE VI relocation: Moving to new neighborhoods and building new ties. *Housing Policy Debate* 15(2): 415–447. Available at: http://doi.org/10.1080/10511482.2004.9521507.

Clampet-Lundquist S (2010) 'Everyone had your back': Social ties, perceived safety, and public housing relocation. *City and Community* 9(1): 87–108. Available at: http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540–6040.2009.01304.x.

Cruikshank B (1999) *The Will to Empower*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Davidson M (2009) Displacement, Space and Dwelling: Placing Gentrification Debate. *Ethics, Place and Environment* 12(2): 219–234. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/13668790902863465.

Dean M. (2010) *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society*. London: Sage.

Dufty R (2011) Governing the experts: Reforming expert governance of rural public housing. *Australian Geographer* 42(2):165–181. https://doi.org/10.1080/00049182.2011.569984

Dwyer P (2007) Still rehearsing the revolution? 'Theatre of the Oppressed', State subsidy and drug war politics. *Australasian Drama Studies* 50 (April): 138–152.

Ettlinger N (2011) Governmentality as epistemology. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 101(3): 537–560.

Flint J (2002) Social housing agencies and the governance of anti-social behaviour. *Housing Studies* 17(4): 619–637. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/0267303022014437.

Flint J (2004) The responsible tenant: Housing governance and the politics of behaviour. *Housing Studies* 19(6): 893–909. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/02673030420002939 91.

Foucault M (1982) The subject and power. *Critical Inquiry* 8(4): 777–795.

Foucault M (1988) *Power/Knowledge*. Random House USA.

Foucault M (1989) The end of the monarchy of sex. In: *Foucault Live*. New York: Semiotext(e).

Foucault M (2002) *Essential works of Foucault 1954–1984: Power*. London: Penguin Books.

Franklin B and Clapham D (1997) The social construction of housing management. *Housing Studies* 12 (January): 7–26. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/02673039708720880

Gordon C (1991) *Governmental Rationality: An Introduction*. Available at: https://laelectrodomestica.files.wordpress.com/2014/07/the-foucault-effect-studies-in-governmentality.pdf.

Hamel S (2013) When theatre of the oppressed becomes theatre of the oppressor. *Research in Drama Education: The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance* 18(4): 403–416. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/13569783.2013.836918.

Heller KJ (1996) Power, subjectification and resistance in Foucault. *SubStance* 25(1): 78–110.

Hyra D (2015) The back-to-the-city movement: Neighbourhood redevelopment and processes of political and cultural displacement. *Urban Studies* 52(10): 1753–1773. Available at: http://doi.org/10.1177/0042098014539403.

Kendall G and Wickham G (1999) *Using Foucault's Methods*. London, Thousand Oaks, CA, New Delhi: Sage.

Manzo LC, Kleit RG and Couch D (2008) 'Moving three times is like having your house on fire once': The experience of place and impending displacement among public housing residents. *Urban Studies* 45(9): 1855–1878. Available at: http://doi.org/10.1177/0042098008093381.

McKee K (2007) Community ownership in Glasgow: The devolution of ownership and control, or a centralizing process? *European Journal of Housing Policy* 7(3): 319–336. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/14616710701477946.

McKee K (2008) The 'responsible' tenant and the problem of apathy. *Social Policy and Society* 8(1): 1–12. DOI: 10.1017/S1474746408004557.

McKee K (2011) Sceptical, disorderly and paradoxical subjects: Problematizing the 'will to empower' in social housing governance. *Housing, Theory and Society* 28(1): 1–18. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/14036091003788120.

Nethercote M (2014) Reconciling policy tensions on the frontlines of indigenous housing provision in Australia: Reflexivity, resistance and hybridity. *Housing Studies* 29(8): 1045–1072. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2014.925098.

Österlind E (2008) Acting out of habits – can Theatre of the Oppressed promote change? Boal's theatre methods in relation to Bourdieu's concept of habitus. *Research in Drama Education: The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance* 13(1): 71–82. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/13569780701825328

O'Sullivan C (2001) Searching for the Marxist in Boal. *Research in Drama Education: The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance* 6(1): 85–97. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/13569780124677.

Rose N, Malley PO and Valverde M (2006) Governmentality. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 2: 83–104. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.lawsocsci.2.081805.105900.

Schram SF, Soss J, Houser L and Fording RC (2010) The third level of US welfare reform: Governmentality under neoliberal paternalism. *Citizenship Studies* 14(6): 739–754. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2010.522363.

Schutzman M (1990) Activism, therapy, or nostalgia? Theatre of the Oppressed in NYC. *The Drama Review* 34(3): 77–83.

Shawyer S. (2011) Activist awareness in the Theatre of the Oppressed classroom. *Candian Theatre Review* 147: 12–17. DOI: 10.3138/ctr.147.12.

Snyder-Young D (2011) Rehearsals for revolution? Theatre of the Oppressed, dominant discourses, and democratic tensions. *Research in Drama Education: The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance* 16(1): 29–45. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/13569783.2011.541600.

Author biography

Laura Wynne is a PhD candidate at the University of Tasmania. Her doctoral research is an ethnographic project focused on the efforts of public housing tenants to resist the redevelopment of their neighbourhood in Sydney, Australia. Laura's research interests also include urban sustainability, in particular the impact of urban sprawl on local food production.